

DECLARATION

MOTION VERBS IN XHOSA

BY

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Master of Arts at the University of Stellenbosch**

DATE

PROMOTER:

PROF. J.A. DU PLESSIS

DATE SUBMITTED:

MARCH, 1996

DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this study is my own original work and has not previously in its entirety or in part been submitted at any university for a degree.

07. 02. 96

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DATE

DEDICATION

This study is dedicated to the following important people in my life:

Andiswa, Nenekazi, Fikile and Sisa Songxaba.

"EKUNYAMEZELENI KUKHO UMOVUZO"

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Uzukhule ude ukhokhobe
De kwanye nezizukulu zezizukulu
Zomzi kaNtu eAfrica
Kuloo mbele ubhonxileyo
Ozondla ngemfunalwazi
Kwezaphesheya izizwe
Ukuze lityebe isebe lezeelwimi
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SUMMARY

This study explores the motion verb in Xhosa.

In Section 1 the aim of the study is stated. Findings about motion verbs by Levin and Rappaport Hovav in Roca (1992) are discussed. The nature of unaccusative verbs and the problems which are encountered when the differences between the unaccusatives and inergatives are identified, are presented from the findings of Nels (1987). Theta theory and Case theory are also discussed in this section.

Section 2 deals with the classification of motion verbs. The external argument of these verbs is dealt with. Three classes of motion verbs, as stated by Levin and Rappaport Hovav, are examined. Types of inherent directional verbs are dealt with. These types are the following:

- (a) Achievement of motion, e.g. -**fika** (arrive).
- (b) Inherent specified path, e.g. (i)**hla** (descend).

The manner of motion verbs which are [+DEC] and [-DEC] as well as the types and their features are discussed. A group of manner of motion verbs which do not fit in with the [+DEC] class but were classified as members of this group by Levin and Rappaport, is also identified.

In Section 3 features of motion verbs are looked into. Locative argument and locative inversion are discussed. Time clauses of duration which involve **for** and **in** in English and referred to in Xhosa as **ngemizuzu**, **emizuzwini** and **imizuzu**, are also looked into. Time clauses, commands and requests are dealt with in this section.

Section 4 focusses on the derivational affixes and the effect of these affixes to the semantic interpretation of the arguments of the derived motion verbs.

Section 5 deals with adjuncts. Subject inversion and NPs which can appear as objects of the motion verbs, are discussed. **Nga-** phrases and their semantic features when they appear with motion verbs are also dealt with. The infinitive and **ukuba**-clauses that can appear with motion verbs are looked into in this section.

Section 6 is the conclusion, summarising the findings of all the previous sections in this study on motion verbs.

OPSOMMING

Die doel van hierdie studie is die verkenning van die bewegingswerkwoorde in Xhosa.

In Afdeling 1 word die studiedoelwit verder uiteengesit en bevindinge rondom bewegingswerkwoorde word aan die hand van navorsing deur Levin en Rappaport Havav in Roca (1992) bespreek. Die aard van nie-akkusatiewe werkwoorde en die struikelblokke wat teengekom word wanneer verskille tussen nie-akkusatiewe en rie-ergatiewe werkwoorde geïdentifiseer word, word aangebied vanuit die siening van Nels (1987). Daar word verder 'n bespreking in hierdie afdeling gevoer aangaande die theta en kasus teorie.

Afdeling 2 handel oor die klassifikasie van bewegingswerkwoorde en die eksterne argument word van nader beskou. Die aandag word ook gevestig op die drie klasse van bewegingswerkwoorde soos weergegee deur Levin en Rappaport Hovav, en die tipes inherente rigting-aanduidende werkwoorde waaronder:

- (a) Bereiking van beweging, bv. **-fika** (arriveer).
- (b) Inherente gespesifiseerde rigting, bv. **(i)hla** (om te daal).

Die manier van bewegingswerkwoorde, bv. [+DEC] en [-DEC], word verken en verskillende tipes van wyse of manier en hul eienskappe word bespreek. Ook geïdentifiseer in Afdeling 2 is 'n groep van werkwoorde, onderskei deur hulle wyse van beweging, wat nie tui behoort in die [+DEC] klas nie, maar tog deur Levin en Rappaport in die hierdie klas geplaas word.

Afdeling 3 is gemoeid met die eienskappe/kenmerke van bewegingswerkwoorde en die lokatiewe argument en -inversie. Bysinne van tyd, wat in Xhosa na verwys word as **ngemizuzu**, **emizuzwini** en **imizuzu**, word ondersoek. Die aandag word laastens in hierdie afdeling gevestig op vraag en bevelsinne.

Afdeling 4 fokus op afgeleide voor en agtervoegsels en die effek hiervan op die semantiese interpretasie van die argumente oor die afgeleide bewegingswerkwoorde.

Die onderwerp van bespreking in afdeling 5 is bywoorde. Die vergrootglas word geplaas op onderwerps-inversie en NPs wat as voorwerpe van bewegingswerkwoorde kanv erskyn. **Nga**-frases en hul semantiese kenmerke indien hulle saam met bewegingswerkwoorde verskyn, is ook ondersoek sowel as die infinitief en **ukuba**-bysinne.

Afdeling 6 is 'n samevatting van die bevindinge in hierdie studie oor bewegingswerkwoorde in Xhosa, in elk van die voorafgaande afdelings.

CONTENTS

	Page
SECTION 1	31
1. INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 AIM OF THE STUDY	1
1.2 PREVIOUS STUDIES ON MOTION VERBS	1
1.2.1 Unaccusativity and unergativity	1
1.2.2 Motion verbs	2
1.2.3 Three classes of motion verbs	3
1.2.4 Correlation of meaning component with unaccusativity	3
1.2.5 Implications for lexical semantic representation	4
1.3 UNACCUSATIVE VERBS	4
1.3.1 Ramification of unaccusativity	5
1.3.2 Predicting unaccusativity	5
1.3.3 Representation of unaccusatives	6
1.3.4 Behaviour of the unaccusatives	6
1.4 THETA THEORY	6
1.4.1 Thematic roles	6
1.4.2 Manner of theta role assignment	8
1.5 CASE THEORY	12
1.5.1 Case assignment	13
1.5.2 Case filter	17
1.5.3 Inherent case and structural case	18
1.5.4 Case absorbtion	19
SECTION 2	
2. CLASSIFICATION OF MOTION VERBS	22
2.1 INTRODUCTION	22
2.1.1 The external argument	22

2.1.2	Conclusion	28
2.2	INHERENT DIRECTIONAL VERBS	29
2.3	MANNER OF MOTION VERBS	31
2.3.1	[+DEC] external cause	31
2.3.2	[-DEC] external cause	32
2.4	TYPES OF MANNER OF MOTION VERBS	32
2.4.1	Semantic features	32
2.4.2	[-DEC] verbs	46
2.4.3	[+DEC] verbs	47
2.4.4	Conclusion	49
SECTION 3		
3.	FEATURES OF MOTION VERBS	53
3.1	INTRODUCTION	53
3.1.1	Locative phrases: locative argument	53
3.1.2	A locative as a complement	55
3.1.3	Interpretation of locative argument	56
3.1.3.1	Different types of theta roles	57
3.1.3.2	Location	60
3.1.3.3	Direction	61
3.1.3.4	Source	62
3.1.3.5	Cause	63
3.1.4	Motion verbs with inherent location meaning	65
3.1.5	Motion verbs with external argument only	66
3.2	LOCATIVE INVERSION	66
3.2.1	Locative categories	67
3.2.2	Diagnostics for locative inversion	75
3.2.2.1	Subject agreement ku-	75
3.2.2.2	Agreement in relative clauses	75
3.2.2.3	Interrogatives with a subject	75

3.2.2.4	Passive constructions	77
3.3	TIME CLAUSES OF DURATION	80
3.3.1	Time phrases	80
3.3.1.1	Time phrases with different types of motion verbs	80
3.3.1.2	Use of time phrases with motion verbs	83
3.3.2	Time clauses	87
3.4	COMMANDS AND REQUESTS	89
3.4.1	Commands	89
3.4.2	Requests	90
3.4.3	Conclusion	92
SECTION 4		
4.	DERIVATIONAL AFFIXES	96
4.1	INTRODUCTION	96
4.2	THE APPLICATIVE AFFIX -EL-	96
4.2.1	The applicative with motion verbs	97
4.2.2	Arrive class with the applicative affix -el-	97
4.2.3	Roll class with the applicative affix -el-	102
4.2.4	Run class with the applicative affix -el-	104
4.2.5	Summary	110
4.3	THE CAUSATIVE AFFIX -IS-es	112
4.3.1	Motion verbs with causative affix -is	112
4.3.2	[+DEC] verbs and their interpretation	114
4.3.3	The effect of the nga- phrase	115
4.3.4	Locative form of the old external argument	116
4.4	THE REFLEXIVE -ZI-	117
4.4.1	Arrive class with the reflexive -zi-	117
4.4.2	Roll class with the reflexive -zi-	119
4.4.3	Run class with the reflexive -zi-	121
4.5	THE RECIPROCAL AFFIX -AN-	122

4.5.1	Reciprocal -an- with the arrive class verbs	122
4.5.2	Reciprocal -an- with the roll class verbs	124
4.5.3	Reciprocal -an- with the run class verbs	125
4.6	THE PASSIVE AFFIX -W-	126
4.6.1	Passive with motion verbs	127
4.6.2	Copulative noun phrases with motion verbs	129
4.7	NEUTRO-PASSIVE	130
4.7.1	The neutro-passive with motion verbs	130
4.7.2	Copulative noun phrases	133
4.8	CONCLUSION	134
SECTION 5		
5.	ADJUNCTS	138
5.1	INTRODUCTION	138
5.2	SUBJECT INVERSION	138
5.3	MOTION VERBS WITH NPS	141
5.3.1	Cognate objects with motion verbs	142
5.3.2	NPs as objects of intransitive motion verbs	142
5.4	NGA- PHRASES	143
5.4.1	Arrive class verbs with nga- phrases	144
5.4.2	Roll class verbs with nga- phrases	148
5.4.3	Run class verbs with nga- phrases	150
5.5	THE INFINITIVE AND UKUBA- CLAUSES	154
5.5.1	The infinitive clause	154
5.5.2	The matrix verb with the applicative affix -el-	155
5.5.3	Ukuba- clause	155
5.5.4	Conclusion	156
SECTION 6		
6.	CONCLUSION	159
6.1	CLASSIFICATION OF MOTION VERBS	159

6.1.1	The arrive class	159
6.1.2	The run class	159
6.1.3	The roll class	160
6.1.4	Inherent directional verb	160
6.1.5	Manner of motion verbs	161
6.2	FEATURES OF MOTION VERBS	162
6.2.1	Locative argument	162
6.2.2	A locative as a complement	162
6.2.3	Interpretation of the locative argument	163
6.2.4	Locative inversion	163
6.2.5	Time phrases and motion verbs	163
6.2.6	Commands and requests	164
6.3	DERIVATIONAL AFFIXES	165
6.3.1	Applicative affix -el-	165
6.3.2	Causative affix -is-	167
6.3.3	Reflexive affix -zi-	168
6.3.4	Reciprocal affix -an-	169
6.3.5	Passive affix -w-	170
6.3.6	Neutro-passive affix -ek-	171
6.4	ADJUNCTS	173
6.4.1	Subject inversion	173
6.4.2	Motion verbs with NPs	173
6.4.3	Nga- phrases	174
6.4.4	Infinitive and ukuba- clauses	175

BIBLIOGRAPHY

SECTION 1

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 AIM OF THE STUDY

The aim of this study is to explore motion verbs in Xhosa. Classification of these verbs according to Levin and Rappaport Hovav in Roca (1992) will be followed and problems encountered with Xhosa motion verbs when classified into groups in this way, will be identified. The external argument of such verbs and their thematic roles will also be looked into. Types of manner of motion verbs will be identified and semantic features of these verbs, i.e. [+DEC] and [-DEC] will be dealt with.

Furthermore, the features of motion verbs will be discussed and emphasis will be on locative phrases and their inversion, time clauses, commands and requests. The effect of derivational affixes when affixed to these types of verbs and the semantic interpretations assigned by these verbs to the arguments when the derivation has taken place, will be explored.

Some of the adjuncts can appear with motion verbs including cognate objects. **Nga**-phrases and their thematic roles, infinitive and **ukuba**-clauses will also be looked into.

1.2 PREVIOUS STUDIES ON MOTION VERBS

Not much has been done towards studying motion verbs in Xhosa. Levin and Rappaport Hovav in Roca (1992) have done some studies on these verbs which they classify according to their meaning.

In their work they concerned themselves with the difference between unaccusativity and unergativity as well as with the classification of these verbs.

1.2.1 Unaccusativity and unergativity

According to Levin and Rappaport Hovav in Roca (1992) the difference between unaccusative verbs and unergative verbs can be presented as follows:

- (1) Unaccusative verbs: [VP V NP]
 Unergative verbs: NP [VP V]

The unaccusative hypothesis (UH) which was formulated in order to account for a variety of phenomena attested cross-linguistically in which the subject of intransitive verbs share certain properties with direct objects of transitive verbs, claims that the two classes of intransitive verbs mentioned in (1) are syntactically defined and appeals to the difference in syntactic configuration for the explanation of the diagnostics which reveal differences in behaviour between these classes. A theory of unaccusative should not ignore the relation between the meaning of intransitive verbs and their membership in the unaccusative or unergative classes.

Levin and Rappaport Hovav in Roca (1992) cited complicated issues which they call unaccusative mismatches. One of these cases occur when it is not clear whether a verb is unaccusative or unergative, like the English verbs "blush" and "snore". These verbs may be classified as activity or change of state verbs. The above scholars feel that if the distinction between activity and achievement verbs turn out to be relevant for determining whether an intransitive verb is unaccusative or unergative, then this aspect of verb meaning has to be checked when comparing verbs with similar meaning in different languages.

1.2.2 Verbs of motion

Verbs of motion have posed a challenge to the claim that unaccusativity is syntactically represented and semantically determined. These verbs figure prominently in a discussion of unaccusative mismatches where verbs belonging to one semantic class show variable behaviour even within a single language. Some verbs of motion display properties of unaccusative verbs, others show properties of unergative verbs and others show properties of both types. The verbs of motion pose a problem for a simple theory of relationship between syntax and semantics of unaccusativity which attempts to reduce the unaccusative and unergative distinction based on notion of agent, and patient/theme. Surface subjects of motion verbs denoting the entity that undergoes the change in location specified by the verb, qualifies as a theme and display unaccusative behaviour. But verbs of motion like "run" and "swim" often behave like unergatives across languages. Verbs of motion also show another kind of mismatch as they cross classify with respect to a variety of purported unaccusative diagnostics. The theory of unaccusativity should therefore be able to meet the challenges posed by the complex and variable behaviour of these verbs.

In their work Levin and Rappaport Hovav in Roca (1992) have the notion of motion and location as the concepts around which predicators are classified. How the argument structures are organised contributes to this classification. Most of the thematic role labels that are

common with these verbs are localist in orientation. These are theme, the role which is associated with the entity whose motion or location is specified, as well as source, goal, location and agent. In their work they subclassify verbs of motion with respect to a variety of unaccusative diagnostics. They also consider the components of meaning which are lexicalised in the verbs themselves, rather than on the argument associated with the verb.

1.2.3 Classes of motion verbs

Motion verbs can be classified in three classes, namely, arrive class, roll class and run class.

(2) (i) Arrive class

This class includes verbs like arrive, come, go, depart, fall, return and descend.

(ii) Roll class

This class involves verbs like roll, slide, move, swing, spin and rotate.

(iii) Run class

This group of verbs include such verbs as run, walk, gallop, jump, hop, skip and swim.

The arrive class has a meaning which includes an inherently specified direction. It denotes a specified motion to a specific point and is sometimes called inherently directed motion. Roll and run classes have a component of manner of motion and they are referred to as manner of motion verbs. The distinguishing factor between run and roll classes is the direct external cause (DEC). Roll class verbs involve the direct external cause [+DEC] in that they can be attributed to the external force such as push or gravity. Run class verbs are [-DEC] because they can be attributed to a protagonist control. This can be summarised as follows:

(3)	Arrive class:	Direction
	Roll class:	Manner [+DEC]
	Run class:	Manner [-DEC]

1.2.4 Correlation of meaning components with unaccusativity

Regarding these verbs Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1992) generalize that verbs whose meaning includes a specification of inherent direction, are found in the unaccusative syntactic configuration.

1.2.5 Implications for lexical semantic representation

1.3 UNACCUSATIVE VERBS

- (i) These verbs select an internal argument which is a patient or theme.
- (ii) They do not assign an external theta role.
- (iii) They lack the property of assigning accusative case to the internal argument.

(4) Umthwalo uyaqengqeleka.

[NP] INFL [NP - qengqelek - umthwalo]
roll luggage

[_{NP} umthwalo_i] INFL [_{VP} - qenggelek - t_j]

Keifer and Kiss (1994:120) state that unaccusatives may not have an agentive argument, so they are connected only to transitive structures with a natural force subject. Jackendoff (1990:294) remarks that note must be taken that the verbs with ambiguous action like **roll** are often characterised as unaccusative.

Nels (1986) in reviewing some of the basic research concerning unaccusative verbs, came up with the following facts in connection with the Unaccusative Hypothesis (UH):

1.3.1 Ramification of unaccusativity

Impersonal passivization does not occur with unaccusatives in Dutch, which may not be the case with other languages. Auxiliary selection may work with another language as it does with Italian, but may not be the same with other languages. The cliticization in Italian may also show the effect of unaccusativity but the case may differ with other languages. Some languages' agreement are cooperative enough to reflect the distinction morphologically in case marking. This shows that the unaccusative distinction is deeply implicated in grammatical systems and all these properties should be derived from the (UH).

1.3.2 Predicting unaccusativity

Concerning the prediction of unaccusativity, the question arises whether all languages regard the same items as unaccusatives and whether the distinction is fully predictable even within individual languages. Nels (1986) further remarks that different languages could classify verbs with the same meaning differently. He quotes the example of the verb meaning **die** being unaccusative in Italian but unergative in Choctaw, while the verb meaning **sweat** is unaccusative in Choctaw, but unergative in Italian. Unaccusativity can neither be predicted nor stipulated, a fact which is problematic to linguistics theorists. A classificatory scheme only allows one to predict the class of unaccusatives but there is need to know why a particular set of verbs is unaccusative. The Universal Alignment Hypothesis (UAH) asserts that there is a deeper (semantic) explanation for unaccusativity, but does not provide it. The Uniformity of Theta Assignment Hypothesis (UTAH) too, does not explain why unaccusatives are represented in the way they are; it just states that the argument must be in the same position for all cases of a verb.

Nels (1986) suggests two steps which can be involved in resolving these problems. One is to discover which semantic verb classes act as syntactically unaccusative, and the other is to discover the principles which relate the semantics of the verbs to their syntax.

1.3.3 Representation of unaccusatives

According to Nels (1986) the representation of unaccusatives considers the difference between unaccusatives and unergatives. The argument structure and linking properties of unaccusatives should be involved. The semantic properties of unaccusatives rather than derivational or other syntactic properties which directly determine their behaviour, should be investigated.

Semantic theories have not proved accounts for the syntactic behaviour which motivates the syntactic hypothesis. Syntactic accounts have not addressed the semantic anchoring of unaccusativity. Nels feels that work exploring the semantics of unaccusativity has focussed on the question of how this class is defined, whereas work exploring the syntactics has focussed on how the verbs behave. He feels that these two kinds of investigation are incompatible.

1.3.4 Behaviour of the unaccusatives

Nels (1986) explains the standard theory of unaccusatives in which they have objects but not subjects. He states that if the unaccusatives do not assign case, the post verbal NP will be forced to move to the subject position for case theoretic reasons. The unaccusatives do not assign case because if a verb does not assign a theta role to its subject, it does not assign case to its object. According to the advancement Exclusiveness Law of relational grammar, unaccusative advancement involves promotion of an object to the subject role. Nels feels that there are two problems concerning the presentation of unaccusatives, determining what it is and why it is what it is.

1.4 THETA THEORY

According to Trask (1993:279) theta theory is a module which deals with the valency required by verbs. Haegeman (1994:49) refers to theta theory as the component of the grammar that regulates the assignment of thematic roles.

1.4.1 Thematic roles

According to Rapaport and Levin quoted by Du Plessis and Visser (1994) there are two distinct lexical representations within which the term thematic role is used ambiguously.

The linguistic expressions assigned theta roles are called **arguments** which, when potential, are NPs and clauses with a referential function. How the term theta role is used makes it to be a synonym of the term argument. The lexical representation in this usage is a reflection only of a lexical-syntactic representation which is referred to as a predicate argument structure (PAS).

The semantic relation between the argument and the predicate is thus not relevant. The theta roles within this lexical representation are not referred to by any semantic label.

The semantic role on the other hand may also name a specific semantic relationship which an argument may bear to its predicate. Such a lexical representation refers to a lexical-semantic representation. Jackendoff (1990) refers to the lexical-semantic representation as lexical conceptual structure (LCS).

The (PAS) of a verb indicates the number of arguments it takes in the lexical-syntactic representation. The predicate is therefore described as one-place, two-place or three-place predicate according to the number of arguments it takes. Each argument has a specific variable which may have semantic labels such as agent and theme. The following examples are an indication of the number of arguments which may be taken by a predicate:

- (5)
- a. **One-place predicate**
qengqeleka: x (a variable)
theme (a semantic label)
 - b. **Two-place predicate**
sela: x (y) (variables)
agent (theme) (semantic labels)
 - c. **Three-place predicate**
pha: x (yz) (variables)
agent (recipient theme) (semantic labels)

Principles such as projection principles and theta criterion govern the assignment of theta roles. The projection principle ensures that a verb may only subcategorise for complements that is marked by theta. The theta criterion imposes a one-to-one association between theta roles and arguments. Each argument bears one and only one theta role and each theta role is assigned to one and only one argument (Sells, 1985; Jackobsen, 1986). This means that each variable in the (PAS) must correspond to some syntactic constituent.

The theta assignment gives the association between the NPs in the argument positions of a verb and the variables in the (PAS) of the verb. According to Du Plessis and Visser (1994) quoting Rappaport and Levin (1988:14) there are three modes of theta roles assignment, namely, by the verb, by a preposition and by a VP via predication. The NP which is assigned a theta role by the VP via predication, must be outside the maximal projection of the verb as required by the predication theory. The verb may assign a theta role to the NP argument in the subject position. This argument is an external argument. Other arguments will then be internal to the maximal projection of the verb. All positions for which a verb subcategorises are theta

positions and the verb assigns theta roles to these positions, i.e. it theta marks these positions. The arguments that appear in the position subcategorised by a verb, are called the internal arguments; these are direct and indirect arguments. The NP argument which is assigned theta role directly by the verb, is a direct NP argument, but the NP argument assigned theta role by a preposition is an indirect NP argument. These internal arguments are assigned theta roles in syntax under government. Direct NP arguments are usually the objects of a verb and the indirect NP arguments are the objects of a preposition. The external argument should be in a relation of mutual c-command with the maximal projection of the verb.

1.4.2 Manner of theta role assignment

The manner of theta role assignment tells which variables in the (PAS) are direct, internal or external arguments. Consider the following examples:

- (6) ULizwi **ubeka** incwadi edesikeni.
 'Lizwi puts the book on the table'
 beka: x (y Loc z) (variables)
 agent (theme, location) (semantic labels)

The lexical-syntactic representation with variables of **beka** makes no reference to the content of the NP arguments, it only gives an indication of the process of theta role assignment. Instead of the variables as shown above, the theta role labels can be given as follows:

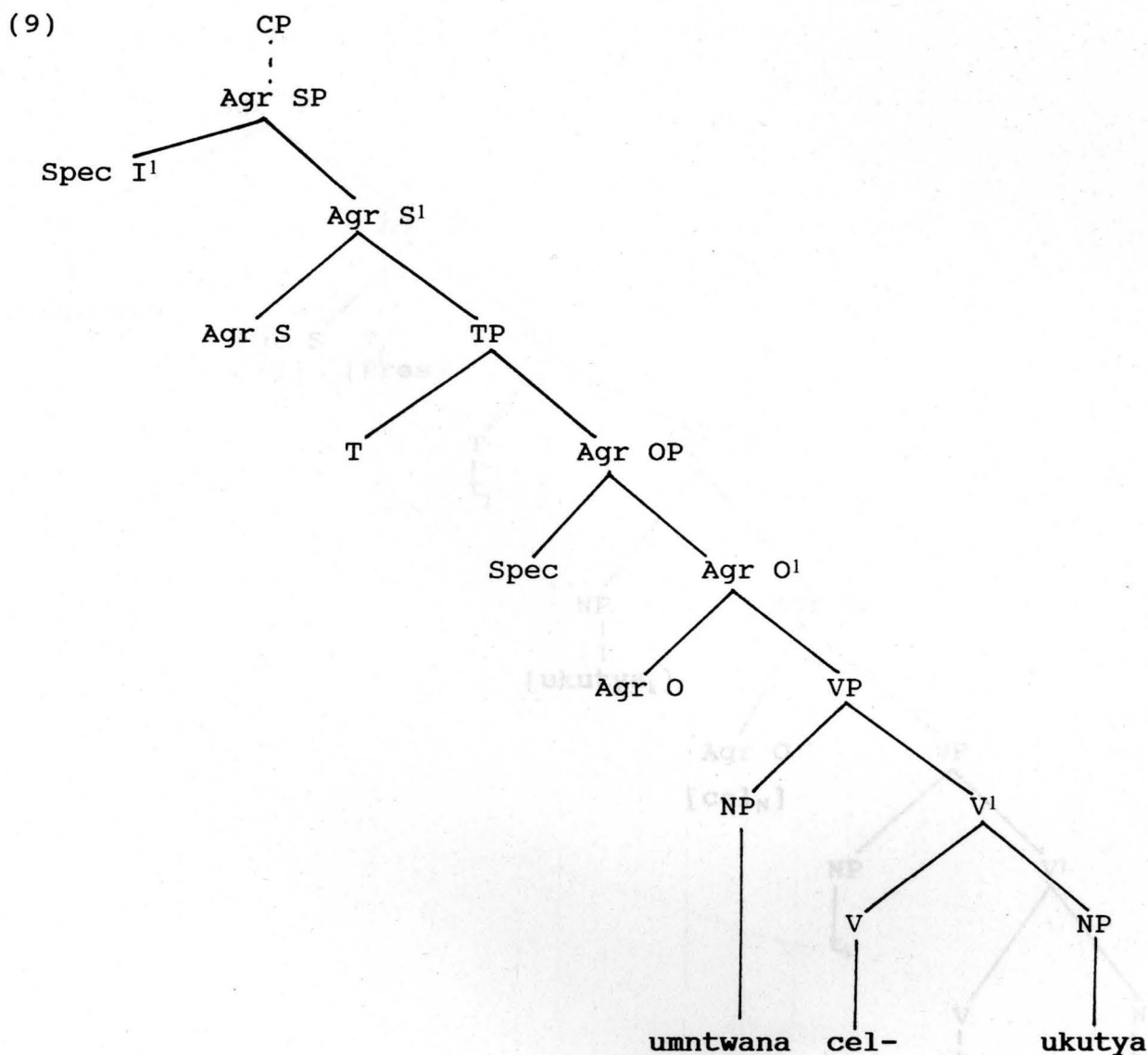
- (7) **beka** [agent, theme, location]

Jackendoff (1990) gives a list of the combination of thematic roles and argument structures in the lexical conceptual structure; this would present the sentence in (6) as follows:

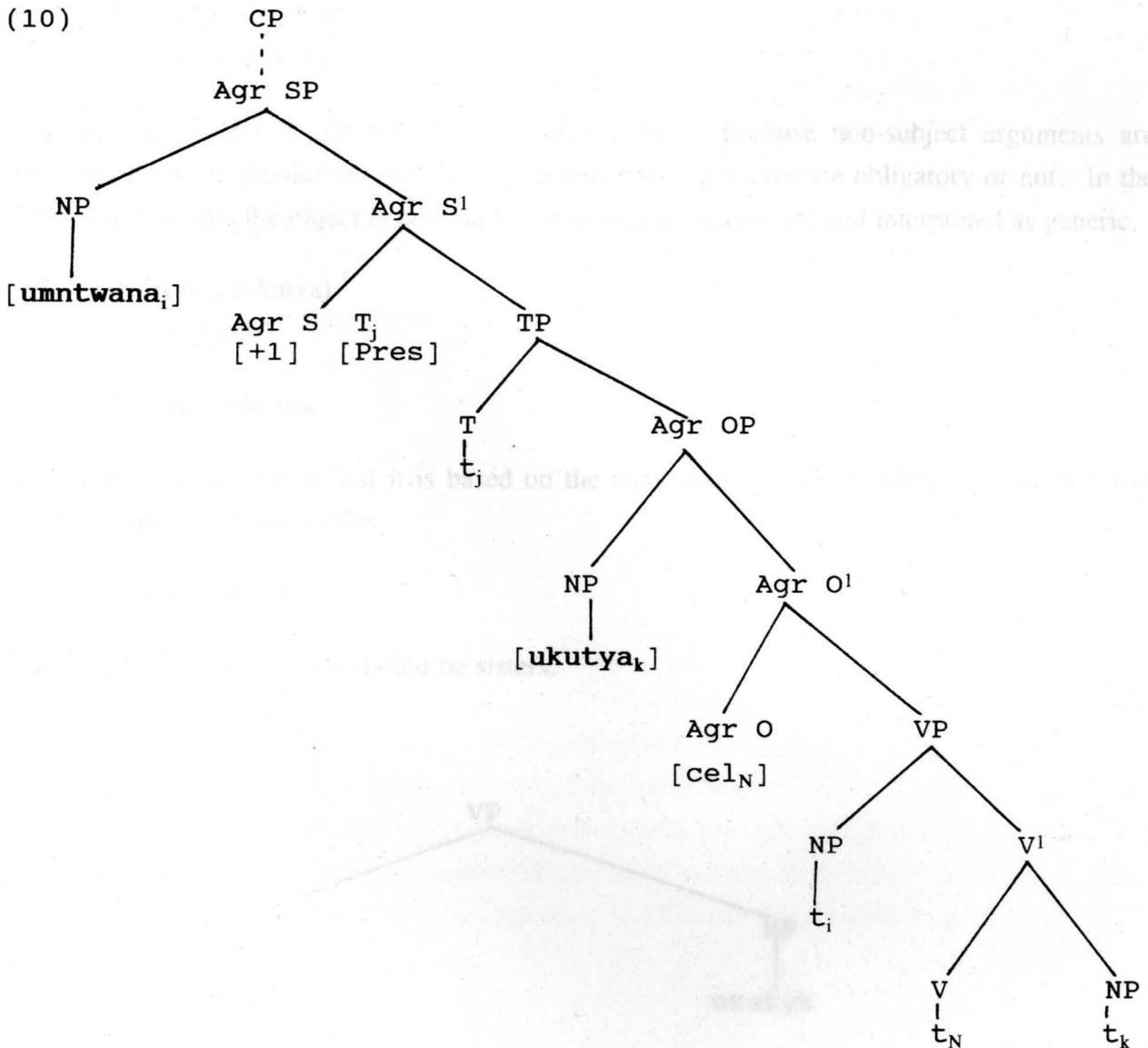
Agent, theme, location: [ULizwi] ubeka [incwadi] [edesikeni]

Linking rules should map from the (LCS) to the (PAS) which functions as a bridge between the (LCS) and the syntactic structure. The category inflection has been expanded and falls within the X-bar theory. This has a relation to the theta argument. Du Plessis and Visser (1994) state that a theta assignment relation between X and Y requires sisterhood between X and Y. For a subject to receive a theta role it must have as sister a VP. The inflectional categories usually disturb this sisterhood between the NP and the VP. The solution is that the subject should appear as the NP internal subject according to the NP internal subject hypothesis. Compare the following examples in (8) and (9):

- (8) Umntwana ucela ukutya
 'The child asks for food'



The external NP argument **umntwana**, has to move from the position it occupies in (9) to the Spec position next to the Agr S. The verb and the internal argument **ukutya**, as well as the inflectional categories, should also move. The traces will be left behind as shown in the following diagram:



Du Plessis and Visser (1994) refer to another theta theory developed by Williams, called **bare** theta theory. This theory is also lexical-syntactical in that it does not mention the semantic contents of the theta roles. The **bare** theta theory is concerned with the relation between a verb and the noun phrase. This relation has the following three features:

(a) **Obligatory relation**

An NP of a sentence must be an argument of a verb as well as an NP which is an external argument. The subject argument is always obligatory and may even be omitted. It can be represented by an empty pro with subjectival agreement. Consider the following example:

- (11) ULiziwe uyahamba
'Liziwe is walking'

- (12) [pro_i] ba_i - ya-hamba
'They are walking'

The missing subject is referred to as a definite NP. Because non-subject arguments are optional, the verb should therefore specify whether its arguments are obligatory or not. In the following example the object is missing but it should be recognised and interpreted as generic.

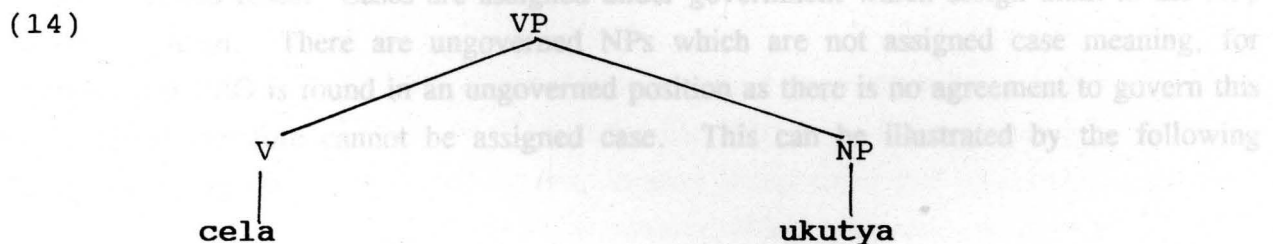
- (13) Ndiyatya (ukutya)
'I eat (food)'

(b) **Unique relation**

This relation is unique in that it is based on the theta-criterion which states that one NP may not be assigned two theta roles.

(c) **Local relation**

The verb and the arguments should be sisters.



William's theta theory is also concerned with the following issues:

(a) **Theta directionality parameter**

According to this parameter the lexical theta role assignment takes place from the left to the right. Consider the following example where the verb **sela** assigns a theta role to its complement **amasi**; this complement is on the right side of the verb **sela**:

- (15) USipho usela amasi
'Sipho drinks sour milk'

(b) **The external argument**

The subject argument is the sister of the maximal projection of the verb. **USipho** in (15) is an external argument because it is located externally to the maximal projection of the verb. The theta role which is assigned by the verb is the external theta role of the verb, which is its head.

(c) **Predication**

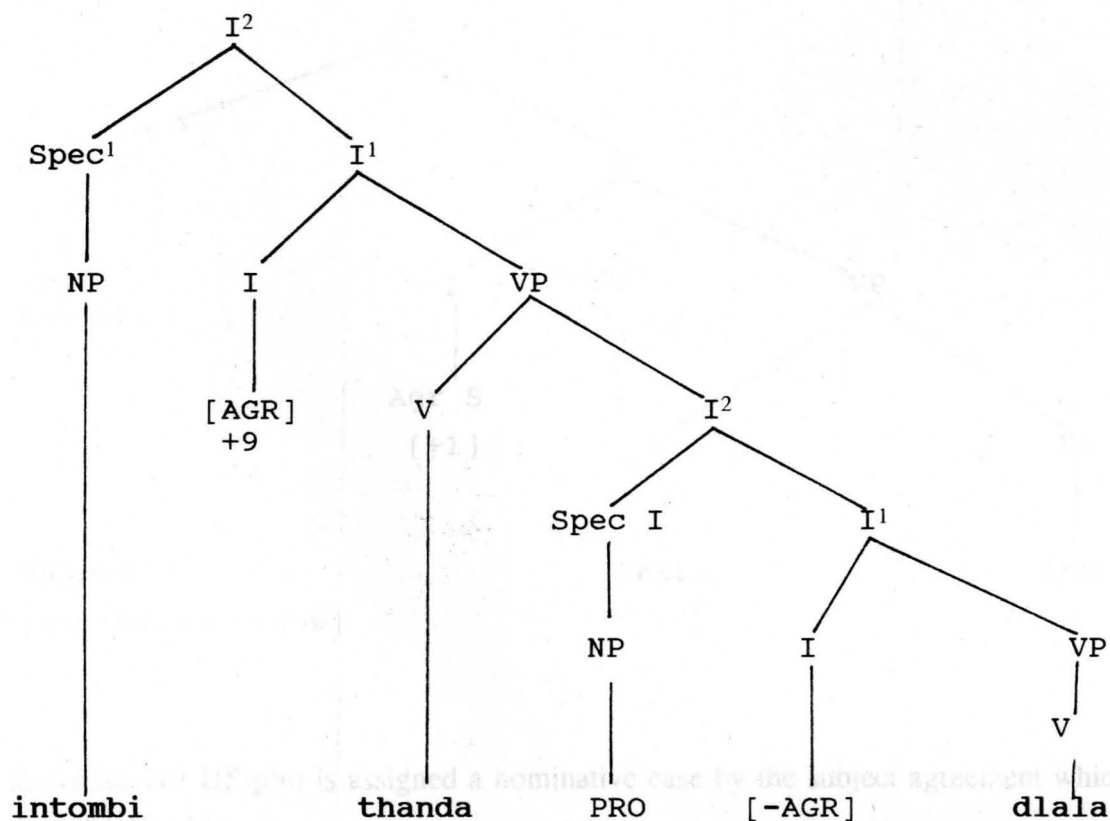
The theta role assigned between the verb and the object is a lexical theta role assignment. The theta role assignment between the VP and the subject NP is a phrasal theta role assignment. The verb is a theta-role donor and the NPs are theta-role receivers. Adjectives and prepositions may also be theta role donors.

1.5 CASE THEORY

According to Horrocks (1987:102) case theory deals with the principles of case assignment to constituents. Trask (1993) refers to case theory as a module of GB responsible for ensuring that every overt NP in a sentence is marked as possessing exactly one of a set of abstract properties called cases. Cases are assigned under government which assign them to the NPs that they govern. There are ungoverned NPs which are not assigned case meaning, for example, that PRO is found in an ungoverned position as there is no agreement to govern this position and therefore cannot be assigned case. This can be illustrated by the following example and diagram:

- (16) Intombi ithanda ukudlala
'The girl likes to play'

(17)



In (17) the subject NP **intombi** is assigned case because it is governed by an agreement. There is no agreement to govern PRO and this fact deprives PRO case. Other governors of NPs apart from the agreement, include prepositions, locative morphemes and possessive morphemes. The cases assigned to NPs are nominative, accusative, oblique, locative and genitive case.

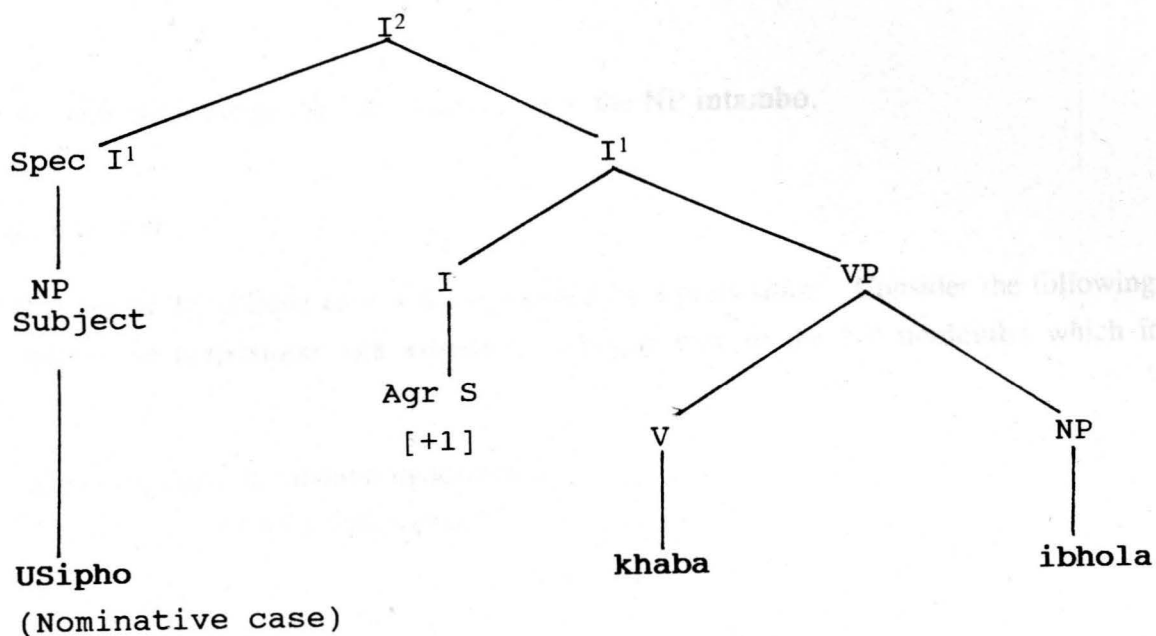
1.5.1 Case assignment

(a) Nominative case

The NP is assigned the nominative case if it is governed by AgrS as shown in the following example:

- (18) USipho ukhaba ibhola
'Sipho kicks the ball'

(19)



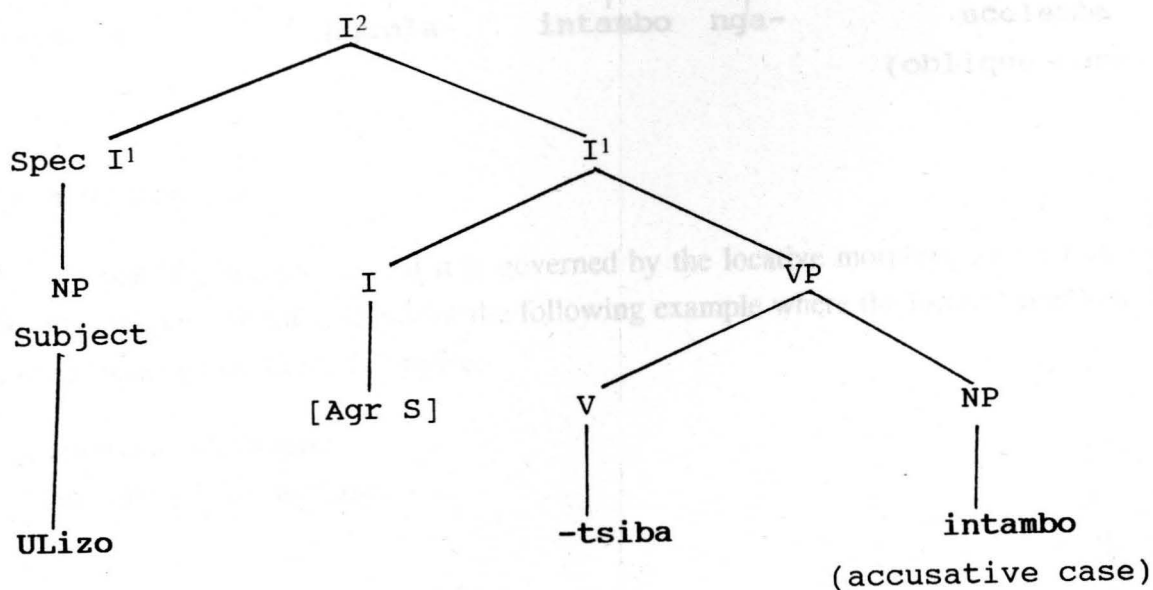
In (19) above the NP **USipho** is assigned a nominative case by the subject agreement which is the element of inflection.

(b) Accusative case

The accusative case may be assigned to the NP if the NP is governed by the verb.

- (20) ULizo utsiba intambo
'Lizo jumps over the rope'

(21)

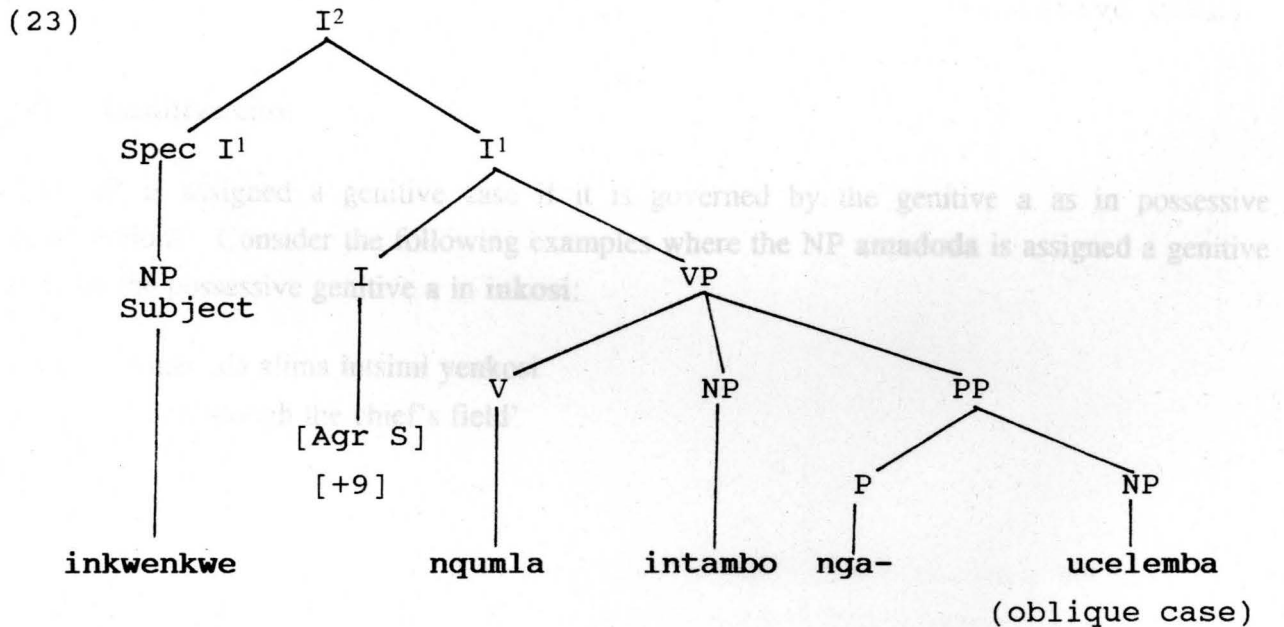


In (21) the verb **tsiba** assigns the accusative case to the NP **intambo**.

(c) Oblique case

The NP is assigned the oblique case if it is governed by a preposition. Consider the following example where the preposition **nga** assigns the oblique case to the NP **ucelemba** which it governs:

- (22) Inkwekwe inqumla intambo ngocelemba
'The boy cuts the rope with a panga'

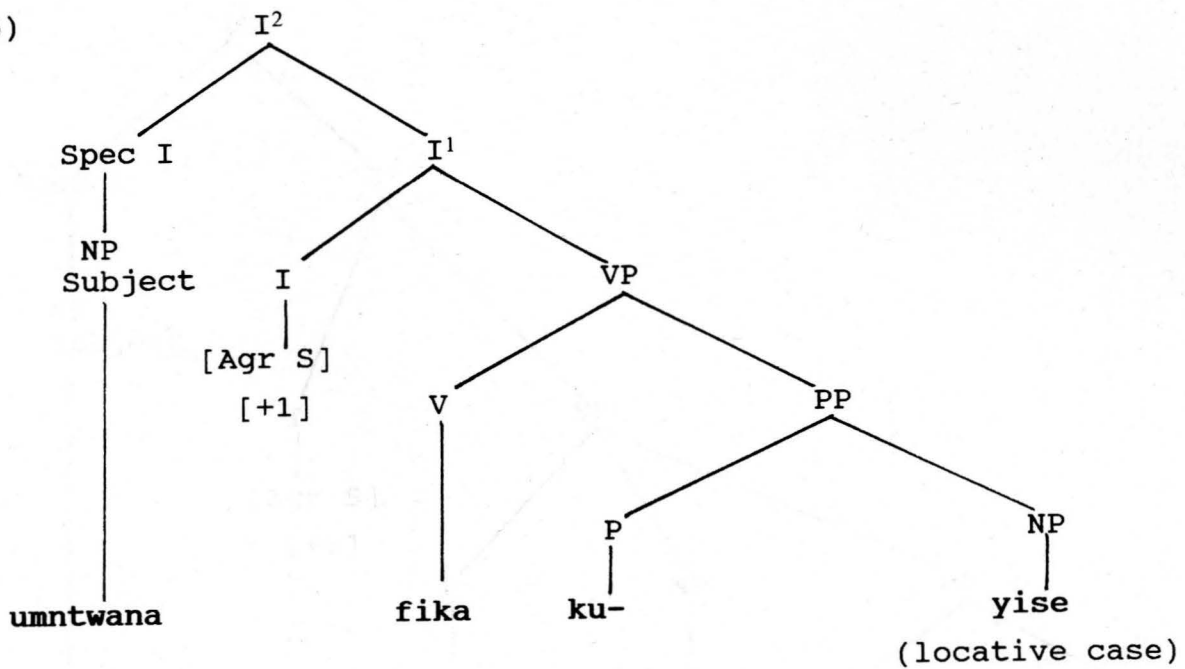


(d) Locative case

The NP is assigned the locative case if it is governed by the locative morphological **e-/-ini** or by the locative preposition **ku-**. Consider the following example where the locative preposition **ku-** assigns a locative case to the NP **uyise**:

- (24) Umntwana ufika kuyise
'The child gets to the father'

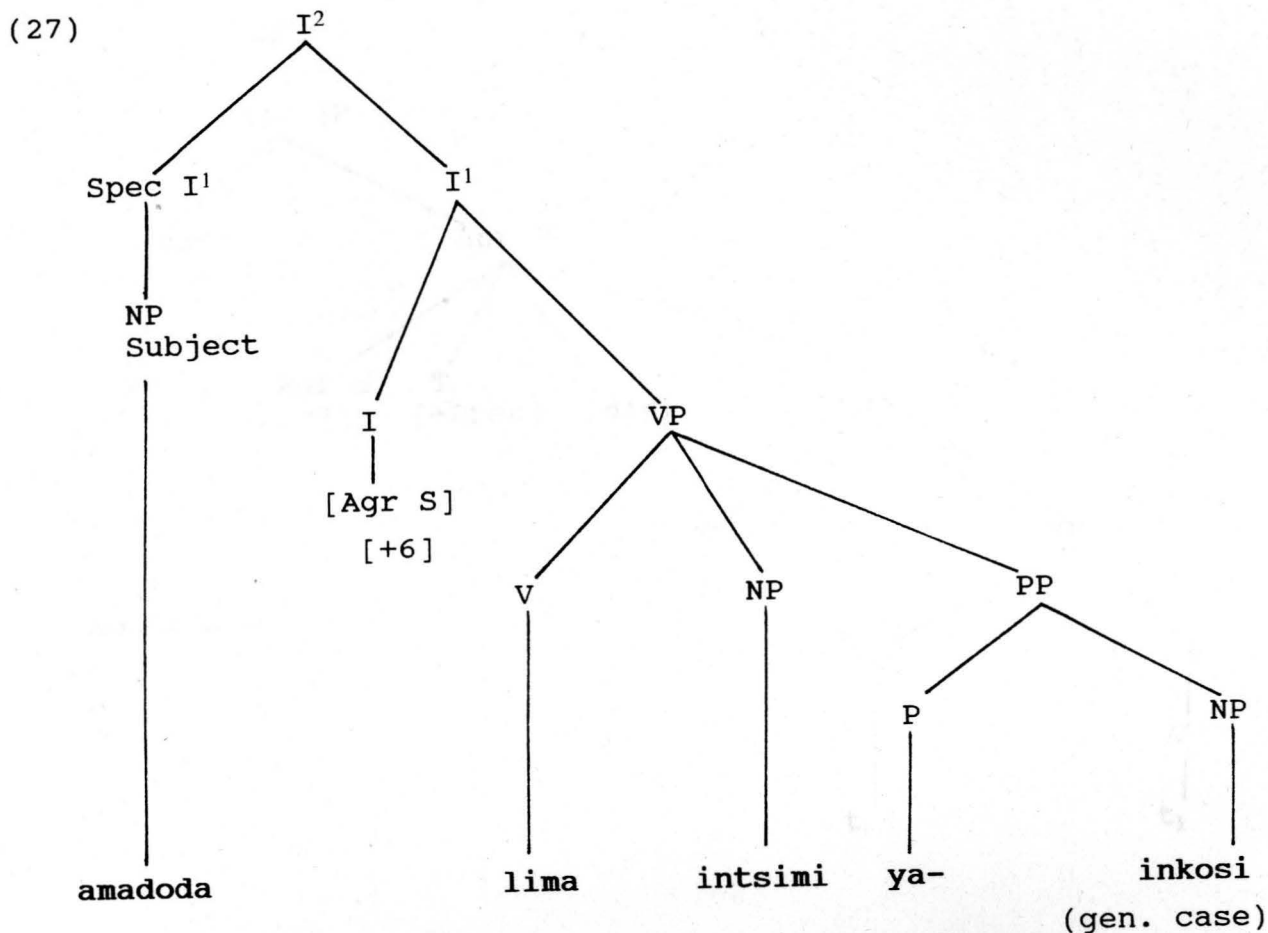
(25)



(e) Genitive case

The NP is assigned a genitive case if it is governed by the genitive **a** as in possessive constructions. Consider the following examples where the NP **amadoda** is assigned a genitive case by the possessive genitive **a** in **inkosi**:

- (26) Amadoda alima intsimi yenkosi
'Men plough the chief's field'

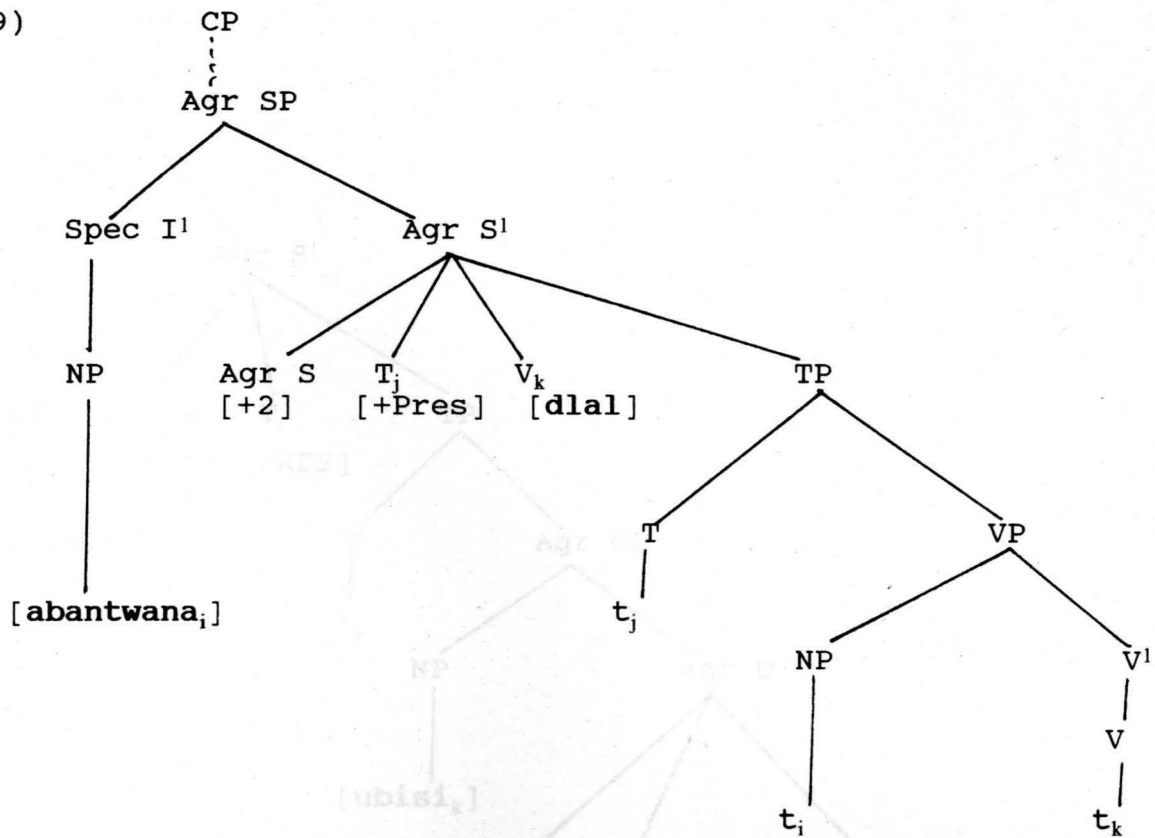


1.5.2 Case filter

Case theory states that any S-structure containing an NP with lexical content but no case, is ungrammatical. The well-formedness of the phonetic form (PF) of a sentence is determined by the case filter. This principle necessitates movement of the NP with no case to a place where it will receive case. Consider the following example sentence in (28) with its accompanying construction in (29):

- (28) Abantwana bayadlala
'Children are playing'

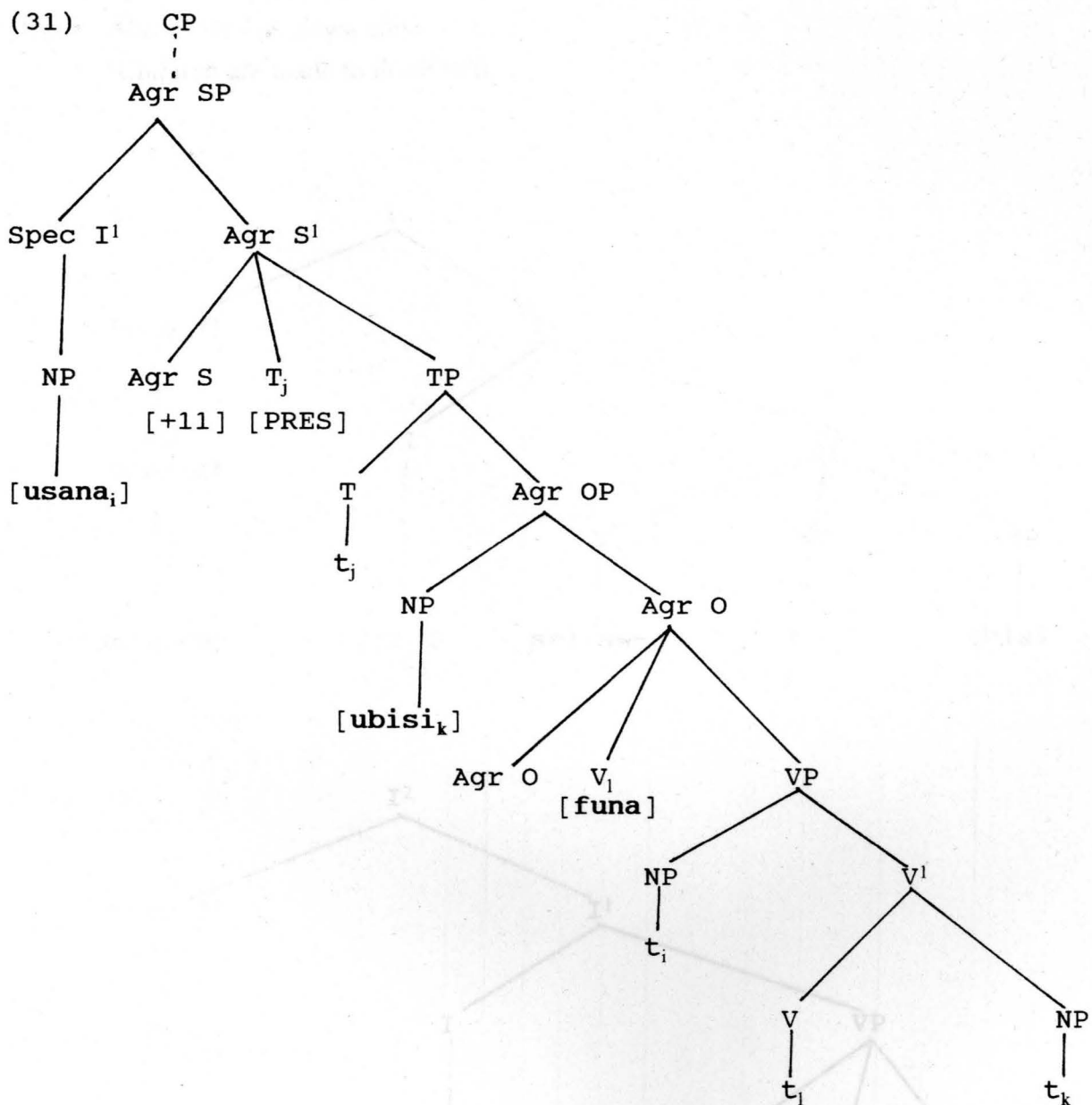
(29)



1.5.3 Inherent case and structural case

Haegeman (1991) states that there are two types of case assignment, i.e. inherent case assignment which is assigned at D-structure and structural case which is assigned at S-structure. Nominative and accusative cases are instances of structural case whereas oblique case, genitive case and locative case belong to inherent case assignment. Inherent case is assigned by lexical items and structural case by syntactical configuration. In order for the subject agreement to assign nominative case, it needs tense while the objectival agreement needs a verb to form a complex in order to assign case. This can be illustrated as follows in the next example in (30) with its accompanying construction in (31):

- (30) Usana lufuna ubisi
'The baby wants milk'

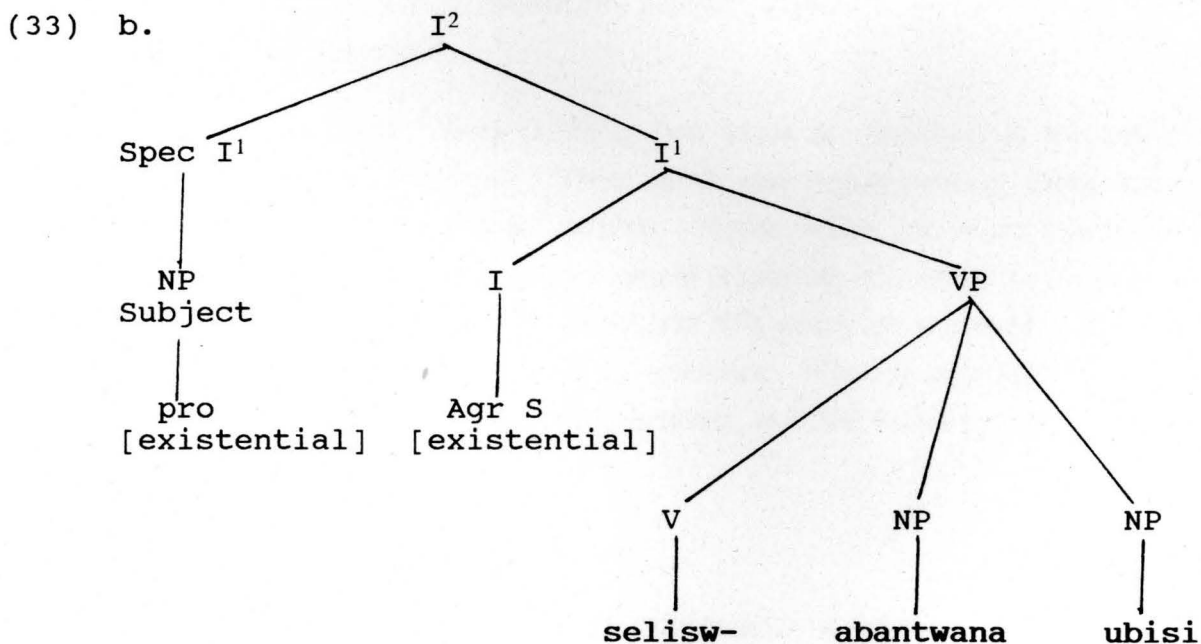
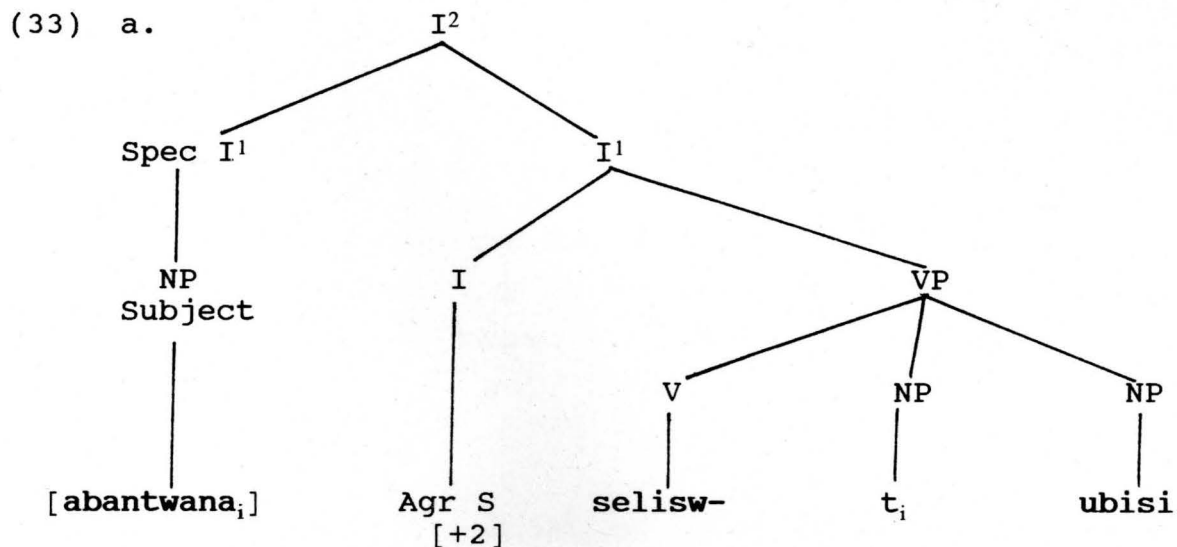


In structure (31) the subjectival agreement formed a complex with the tense while the objectival agreement formed a complex with the verb in order to assign case to their relevant NPs.

1.5.4 Case absorption

When a passive morpheme *-w-* is affixed to the verb, it absorbs case. The NP thus affected is forced to move to the subject position and assigned a nominative case. Compare the following example with the constructions in 33(a) and (b):

- (32) Abantwana baseliswa ubisi
'Children are made to drink milk'



In structure 33(a) the NP **abantwana** occupied the NP position adjacent to the verb. When the case was absorbed by the positive morpheme **-w-**, this NP moved to the subject position.

In structure 33(b) the NP **abantwana** did not move because it has inherited nominative case from the NP subject which has existential **ku-** that does not qualify for case.

In conclusion it can be stated that case assignment is important for the grammaticality of a sentence. The adjacency condition sees to it that NPs are not far from their governors because if they are, they will not receive the case from their governors.

inkomo (subject) usenga (predication) inkomo (object)

inkomo milks the cow

According to Bennis and Visser (1992:1) two terms are involved in the analysis of arguments: nouns and predicates. These names may denote persons, things and places, as well as concrete and abstract entities. Nouns which are names constitute noun phrases (NPs) and expressions representing arguments in a sentence. In the sentence 'inkomo usenga inkomo' as an object, are NPs which are arguments. Arguments are entities that have a role and reference. When an argument is an external argument, as in the following sentence:

inkomo usenga inkomo

inkomo milks the cow

the external argument, inkomo, satisfies the number of arguments. The sentence 'inkomo usenga inkomo' is a one-place or three-place predicate. The sentence 'inkomo usenga inkomo' can be described as follows:

inkomo (NP) usenga (V) inkomo (NP)

61 62

SECTION 2

2. CLASSIFICATION OF MOTION VERBS

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The aim of this section is to examine the external argument of a motion verb in order to identify the semantic interpretation of this external argument to classify motion verbs into different classes along with their features.

2.1.1 The external argument

A simple sentence in Xhosa follows the SVO pattern with a subject, predicate and an object, as in the following sentence:

- (1) UThemba (**subject**) usenga (**predicate**) inkomo (**object**)
'Themba milks the cow'

According to du Plessis and Visser (1992:1) two terms are involved in the analysis of propositions, i.e. names and predicates. These names may denote persons, things and places and may refer to concrete and abstract entities. Nouns which are names constitute noun phrases which are linguistic expressions representing arguments in a sentence. In sentence (1) **UThemba** as a subject and **inkomo** as an object, are NPs which are arguments. An argument is an expression which bears a thematic role and reference. When an argument takes the place of a subject NP of a sentence, it is an external argument, as in the following sentence:

- (2) Umfazi utya inyama
'The woman eats meat'

The predicate argument structure (PAS) indicates the number of arguments the verb takes. The predicate may be described as a one-place, two-place or three-place predicate according to the number of arguments it takes. The verb **-tya** in (2) can be described as follows:

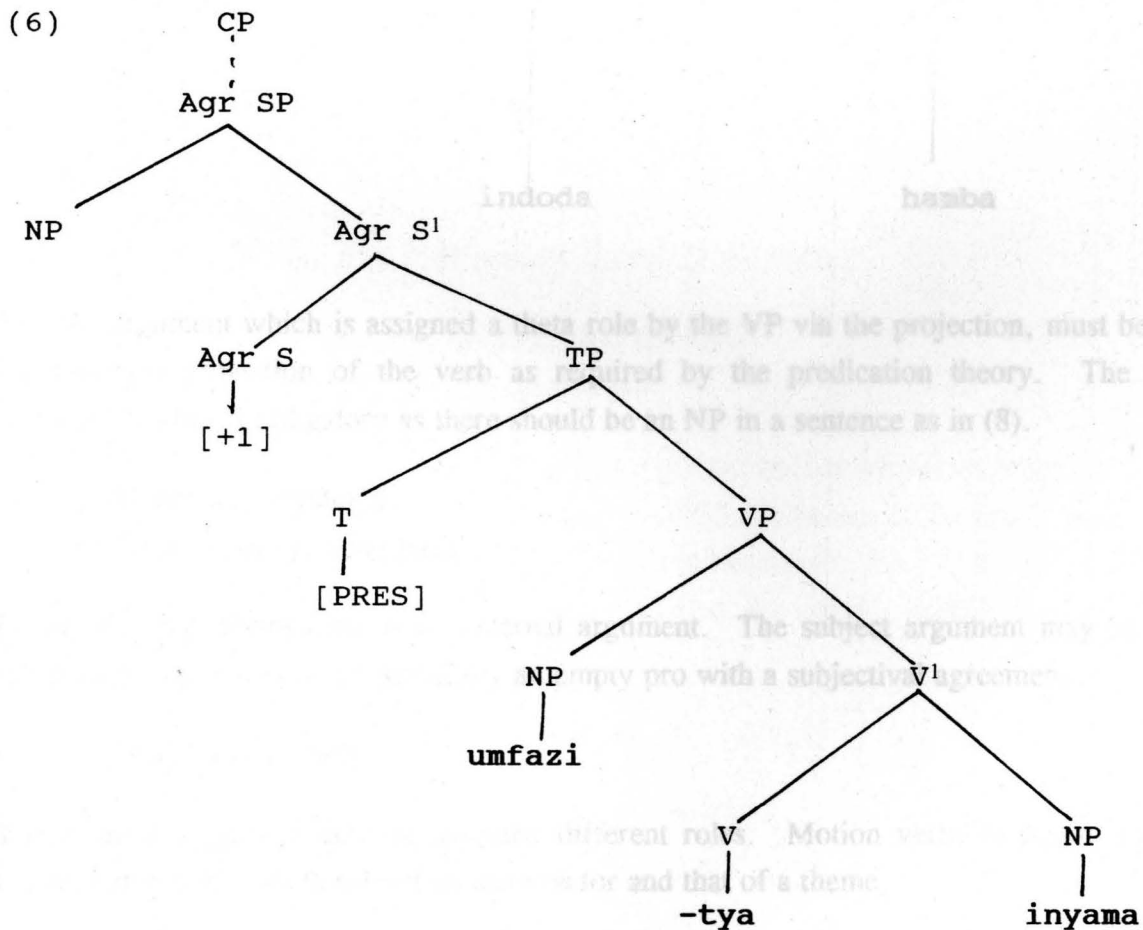
- | | | |
|-----|-------------------------|-----------|
| (3) | Morphophonological form | -ty- |
| | Categorical type | [+V, -N] |
| | Subcategorical feature | [____ NP] |
| | Θ-grid | Θ1 Θ2 |

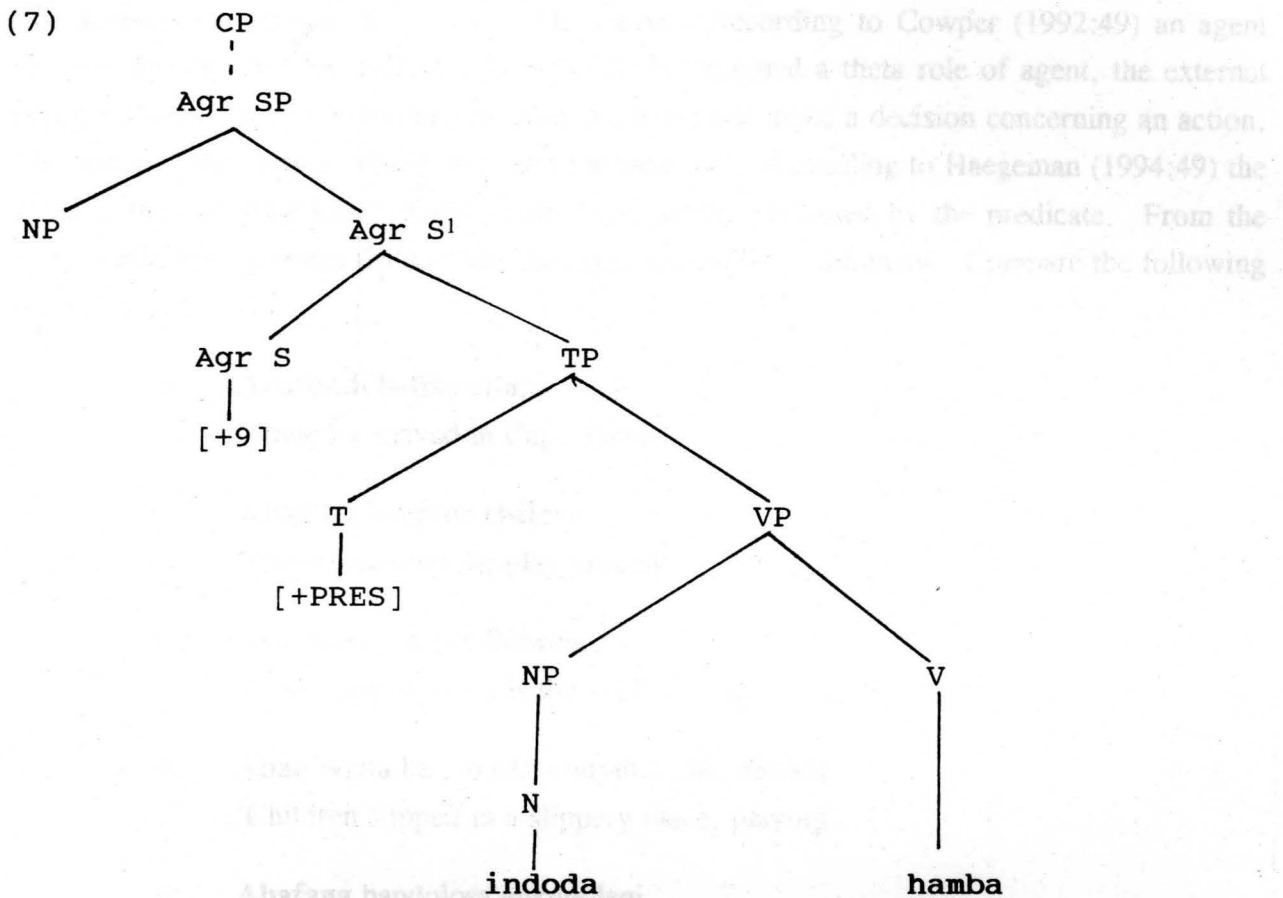
- (4) **Indoda** iyahamba
'The man walks'

In (4) the verb **hamba** can be described as follows:

- | | | |
|-----|-------------------------|---------------|
| (5) | Morphophonological form | -hamb- |
| | Categorial type | [+V, -N] |
| | Subcategorial features | [____ #] |
| | Θ -grid | Θ |

Umfazi in sentence (2) and **indoda** in sentence (4) are external arguments which have been assigned to the subject of the sentence through the rule of predicate. Compare the following diagrams in (6) and (7) to illustrate this point:





The NP argument which is assigned a theta role by the VP via the projection, must be outside the maximal projection of the verb as required by the predication theory. The external argument is always obligatory as there should be an NP in a sentence as in (8).

- (8) Abantwana bayabuya
'Children are coming back'

In this sentence **abantwana** is an external argument. The subject argument may be missing and such a case it may be presented by an empty pro with a subjectival agreement.

- (9) [pro_i] ba_i -ya - buya

The external argument may be assigned different roles. Motion verbs in Xhosa assign the external argument a theta role of an agent/actor and that of a theme.

- (10) **Indoda** ingena endlwini
'The man enters the house'

- (11) **Umlambo** ungena elwandle
'The river enters into the sea'

The agent is the initiator and doer of the action. According to Cowper (1992:49) an agent requires the capacity for volition. In order to be assigned a theta role of agent, the external argument needs to have a will and be able to choose and make a decision concerning an action. The action is therefore a deliberate action for the agent. According to Haegeman (1994:49) the agent is the one who intentionally initiates the action expressed by the predicate. From the above definitions one can deduce that the agent should be [+animate]. Compare the following examples:

- (12)
- a. **Abafundi** bafika eKapa
'Students arrived in Cape Town'
 - b. **Abadlali** bangena ebaleni
'Players entered the play ground'
 - c. **Iinkomo** zisinga edlelweni
'Cows moved towards the veld'
 - d. **Abantwana** batyibilika emtyibilizini, bedlala
'Children slipped in a slippery place, playing'
 - e. **Abafana** bandolosa enkundleni
'Young men walk proudly in front of the houses'
 - f. **Iimbaleki** zankcunkca ebaleni lemidlalo
'Athletes trot in the play ground'

In the examples in 12(a-f) all the NPs which are printed bold are external arguments and their role is agent. With regard to the agent, Cowper (1992:49) further states that it is important to note that in any particular sentence an agent does not necessarily have to intend to perform the action. An agent thus requires the capacity for volition, not volition itself in a sentence.

- (13) USizwe utshona emanzini ngempazamo
'Sizwe disappears in the water accidentally'
- (14) Ngelishwa abakhuthuzi bangena kuloliwe ongenguye
'Unfortunately tsotsis entered into a wrong train'

USizwe in (13) and **abakhuthuzi** in (14) are agents because they are [+animate] and have the capacity for volition although there is no volition in these sentences.

The theme of the predicate with motion verbs is that entity which is in motion. Cowper (1992:51) states that the theme role occurs with verbs of motion or location. The entity which moves can be concrete or abstract, or can be [+animate] or [-animate].

- (15)
- a. **Intlungu** yafika entliziyweni
'Pain got into the heart'
 - b. **Amaza** asondela elunxwemeni
'Waves came nearer to the beach'
 - c. **Ihagwana** yantyumpanyumpeka oludakeni
'The piglet moved up and down in the mud'
 - d. **Intshontsho** lantyumpanyumpeka esidudwini
'A chicken moves up and down in wet porridge'
 - e. **Ilitye** liqengqeleka entabeni
'The stone rolls from the mountain'
 - f. **Indoda** yawa, yaqengqeleka kwintaba yeTafle
'The man fell, rolled on Table Mountain'
 - g. **Ikhephu** liyatyibilika phezu kwendlu
'The snow is slipping from the roof of the hut'

The external argument **intlungu** (pain) in 15(a) is an abstract noun and it is that entity which is moved and is therefore a theme. **Amaza** (waves) in 15(b) is a concrete noun which also gets a theme role from the predicate as it is the entity which is moved. **Ihagwana** (piglet) in 15(c), **intshontsho** (chicken) in 15(d) and **indoda** (man) in 15(f) are also themes since they are entities which are moved. Concerning this, Haegeman (1994) states that other authors amalgamate the roles patient and theme under the one role of theme. It should be noted that the subjects **ihagwana** (piglet) in 15(c) and **indoda** (man) in 15(f) may be agents if and when they have an intention of taking the action.

- (16)
- a. **Ihagwana** yantyumpanyumpeka eludakeni iziphozisa kwilanga laloo mini
'The piglet moved up and down in the mud cooling itself from the hot sun of that day'
 - b. **Indoda** yawa yaqengqeleza kwintaba yeTafle, ngenjongo yokubaleka utshaba
'The man fell and rolled on Table Mountain, running away from the enemy'

Ihagwana (piglet) in 16(a) had an intention of cooling itself, while **indoda** (man) in 16(b) had a strategy of running away from the enemy. In 15(d), however, **intshontsho** (chicken) had no intention whatsoever of moving up and down in the wet porridge. This can also be noticed in the use of the motion verb **-tyibilika** in the following two examples:

- (17)
- a. Abantwana batyibilika emtyibilizini bedlala
'Children slip in a slippery place playing'
 - b. Umntwana watyibilika anqweleni ngengozi wophuka umlenze
'The child slipped from a wagon accidentally and broke his leg'

In 17(a) there is an intention for the children to slip in a slippery playing place, therefore **abantwana** (children) is an agent. In 17(b) the agent is moved by a predicate as **umntwana** (child) had no intention to slip; therefore this external argument is a theme. Haegeman (1994:49) states that a theme is a person or thing moved by action expressed by the predicate.

Some of the motion verbs may only take the external argument which is [+animate]. Consider the following examples:

- (18)
- a. *Ilitye latyelelela eKapa
'The stone visits Cape Town'
 - b. *Ulonwabo lwatyelela edolophini
'Happiness visits town'
 - c. *Imvula yatyelela edolophini
'Rain visits town'

The motion verb **tyelela-** assigns the agent role, because it is only [+animate] which can decide to visit a place. Other motion verbs can take [+animate], [-animate] or concrete and abstract nouns. They may assign the agent and theme role.

- (19)
- a. Abantu bangena endlwini
'People get into the hut'
 - b. Umlambo ungena elwandle
'The river enters the sea'
 - c. Intlungu yangena entliziyweni
'The pain enters the heart'

- d. Vala, imvula iyangena endlwini
'Close, the rain enters the hut'

Some motion verbs do not take abstract nouns as external argument, as seen in the following examples:

- (20) a. *Ulonwabo lwatyibilika entliziweni
'Happiness slipped in the heart'
b. *Ulonwabo lwatshitshiliza emva kwakhe
'Happiness moved with resistance after him'

2.1.2 Conclusion

In conclusion it can be stated that in the arrive class the external argument of the motion verb may be an agent or a theme. The agent is an actor and it may only be [+animate], as in the example in (21).

- (21) Abakhweli- zithuthuthu behla entabeni ngesantya esiphezulu
'Motor-bike drivers descend a mountain on a high speed'

The agent may have the capacity for volition although there may be no volition in the sentence, as in (22).

- (22) Inkomo zangena ediphini ziqhutywa ngamakhwenkwe
'Cows entered the dipping-tank driven by boys'

The theme role may be assigned to the external argument and it may be [+animate] or [-animate] as in (23):

- (23) a. Inkwenkwe itshona edameni
'The boy disappeared in the dam'
b. Inqanawa izika elwandle
'The ship sinks in the sea'

The run class is the same as the arrive class, the agent is [+animate].

- (24) Abafana babaleka emfazweni
'Young men run away from war'

The theme may be [+animate] or [-animate].

- (25) a. Inxila lagxadazela ebhasini
'A drunkard slaggered in the bus'
- b. Inkanyamba yahamba elalini yethu
'The tornado moved through our location'

With roll class the agent is also [+animate].

- (26) a. Abantwana bathanda ukuqengqeleka engceni eluhlaza
'Children like to roll on the green grass'
- b. Abantwana bafuna ukutyibilika eludakeni
'children want to slip on the mud'

The same NP may be a theme when there is no intention for the particular action, instead the NP is the entity which moves.

- (27) a. Yathi yakubhukuqa loo nqwelo, amadoda aqengqeleka kwelo thambeka
'When the wagon capsized, men rolled on the side of the mountain'
- b. Umntwana watyibilika emanqwanqweni waya kuwa ezantsi
'The child slipped on the steps and fell down'

The theme may be [-animate], as in the next example sentence.

- (28) Isitya satyibilika phezu kwekhephu
'The dish slipped on the snow'

2.2 INHERENT DIRECTIONAL VERBS

The classification of motion verbs arises from a consideration of the behaviour of these verbs. Inherent directional verbs are members of motion verbs; they differ from other groups in that their meaning includes an inherent specified direction of motion. Roca (1992:252) refers to this group of verbs as the arrive class.

- (29) a. ULizo uyafika
'Lizo is arriving'
- b. Abahloli bayafika esikolweni
'Inspectors are arriving at school'

Within the arrive class the different verbs may denote different ways of movement. Some inherent directional verbs may denote achievement of motion to a specific point, i.e. an achieved location.

- (30)
- a. Abazingeli **babuya** ezindle xa lisithi ndithenge
'Hunters return from veld at sunset'
 - b. Iinkomo **zangena** entsimini
'Cows entered the field'
 - c. Abahambi **bafika** esikhululweni ngentsasa elandelayo
'Travellers arrived at the station on the following morning'

In the above sentences, **babuya** in 30(a), **zangena** in 30(b) and **bafika** in 30(c) show an achieved motion.

Some of the inherent directional verbs denote motion towards a specific direction; these verbs have a meaning which includes an inherent specified path.

- (31)
- a. Nabo abantwana **besihla** entabeni
'There children descend the mountain'
 - b. Amakhwenkwe **enyuka** emithini ukuze atye iziqhamo
'Boys climb trees in order to eat fruit'
 - c. Uloliwe **usondela** esikhululweni
'The train moves towards the station'

Besihla in 31(a), **enyuka** in 31(b) and **usondela** in 31(c) have a specified path within them. The inherent directional verbs from the above sentences do not specify the manner of motion because it is not the concern of these verbs to specify it.

- (32) Abasebenzi babuya edolophini
'Workers return from town'

In sentence (32) it is not specified whether the workers returned from town running, walking or rolling; it is stated only **that** they returned.

2.3 MANNER OF MOTION VERBS

Motion verbs which do not encode the direction of motion but the manner or way in which the motion takes place, are called manner of motion verbs. Consider the following examples:

- (33) a. Amajoni ayabaleka
'Soldiers are running'
- b. Imithwalo iyaqengqeleka
'Luggages are rolling'

In 33(a) **baleka** and 33(b) **qengqeleka** have no specification of direction, they simply show the manner of motion. Within the manner of motion verbs there are two classes or groups, i.e. roll class and run class. The difference between these two classes is introduced through a feature called Direct External cause (DEC) (Roca, 1992). This feature specifies whether the action denoted by the verb happens from natural impulse, i.e. spontaneously, or whether it is directly caused by an external agent or force. Verbs which happen spontaneously involve a protagonist control and have no direct external cause [-DEC]. If the meaning of a verb involves (DEC) it does not involve protagonist control, and is referred to as [+DEC] (Roca, 1992).

2.3.1 [+Direct] external cause

Roll class verbs do not involve a protagonist control and these verbs can be attributed to an external force such as push or gravity. This class can be referred to as [**manner**], [+DEC]. Consider the following examples:

- (34) a. Amatye aqengqeleka entabeni
'Stones roll from the mountain'
- b. Intshontsho linyumpantyumpeka esidudwini
'The chicken rolls in the wet porridge'
- c. Indebe yebhola yombhoxo ijikeleza kumazwe ngamazwe
'The rugby world cup rotates in all countries'
- d. Indoda iyahexa ifunyenwe ngumqhele
'The man who moves without balance is drunk'

With **qengqeleka** in 34(a), **ntyumpantyumpeka** in 34(b), **jikeleza** in 34(c) and **hexa** in 34(d) there is no chief or protagonist control. These actions are caused by external forces.

2.3.2 [-Direct] external cause

Run class involves a protagonist control and this class can be referred to as **manner**, [-DEC].

- (35)
- a. Amakhwenkwe abaleka emva kwendlu
'Boys run behind the house'
 - b. Bahamba endleleni
'They walk on the road'
 - c. Intshatsheli yandolosa phambi kwababukeli
'The champion walked proudly in front of the spectators'
 - d. Indadi yantwila emanzini
'The swimmer dived in the water'
 - e. Iziquhla zangquvela kwibala lemidlalo
'The crippled men cripple on the play ground'

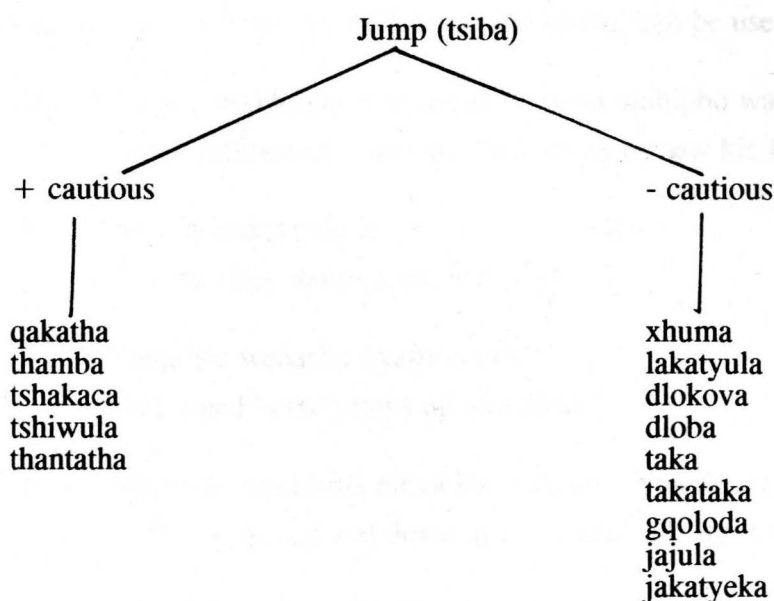
From the sentences in (35) **abaleka** in (a), **bahamba** in (b), **yandolosa** in (c), **yantwila** in (d) and **zangquvela** in (e) have a protagonist control.

2.4 TYPES OF MANNER OF MOTION VERBS

2.4.1 Semantic features

Run class involves verbs like walk, run, jump and dance. Each of these verbs has different features which can be expressed by different verbs. The verb **tsiba** means to **jump** and when jumping one may be cautious or not. The features [+cautious] can be considered with the motion verb **jump** to show the difference between the way of jumping.

(36)



Verbs from the feature [+cautious] in diagram (36) above, can appear in sentences like the following:

- (37)
- a. Abantu **baqakatha** ematyeni xa kuwelwa uMzimvubu
'People jump on stones when they cross the Mzimvubu river'
 - b. Abadlali bombhoxo **bayathamba** kwibala lemidlalo
'Rugby players make regular movements of jumping in the field'
 - c. Imbaleki **zazitshakaca** kumanqwanqwa abekelwe oko
'Athletes jumped over hurdles'
 - d. Le nkwenkwe iyakwazi **ukutshiwula** ehasheni
'This boy can jump onto the horse's back without stirrups'
 - e. Eso sibini **sasithantatha** kulo mlambo sibambene
'Those two were jumping hand in hand over the stones of that river for pleasure'

The verbs printed in bold in 37(a-e) have a feature of [+cautious]. However, **qakatha** in (a) differs from **thantatha** in (e) in that the former means just jumping but with the latter the jumping is accompanied by pleasure and jollity. **Thamba** in (b) and **tshakaca** in (c) are organised ways of jumping; with the former there are different types of regular jumping, but with the latter there is one type of movement, i.e. up, over and down. **Tshiwula** in (d) means to jump onto the back of an animal, e.g. a horse, donkey or an ox, for riding (*iqegu*).

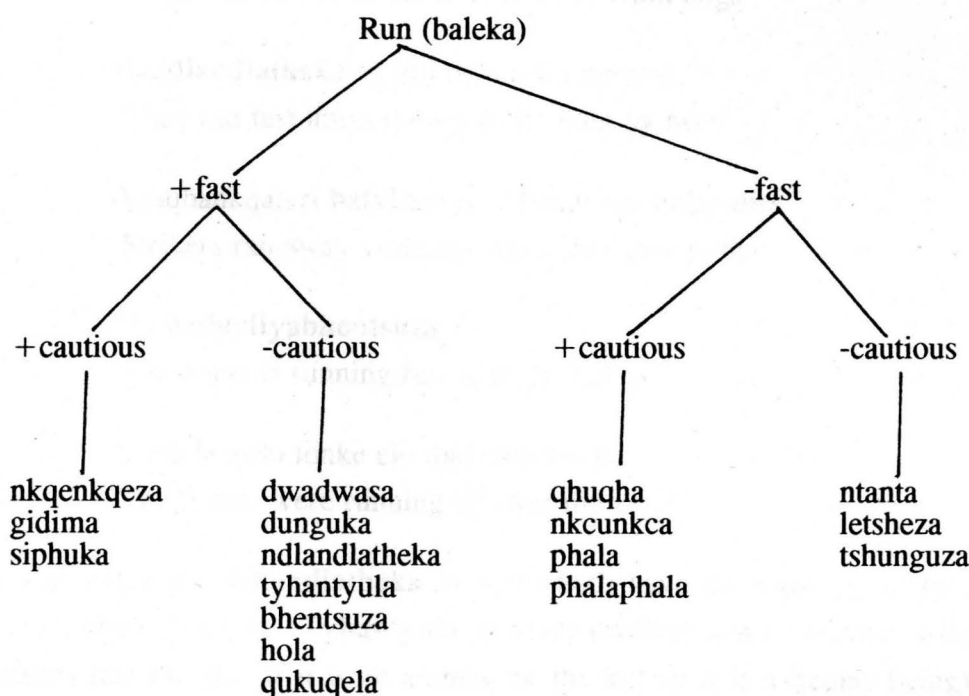
Verbs with the feature [-cautious] in diagram (36) above, can be used in sentences as follows:

- (38)
- a. USipho **waxhuma** esitulweni akubona umhlobo wakhe
'Sipho jumped up from the chair when he saw his friend'
 - b. Inkawu **ilakatyula** kuyo yonke loo mithi
'The monkey jumps from tree to tree'
 - c. Umqalwa wehashe **uyadlokova**
'Untrained horse jumps up and down'
 - d. Amathole **ayadloba** emva kwentlazane kuba ehluthi
'Calves jump up and down at noon with full stomachs'
 - e. Omatiloshe **bayataka** enqanaweni
'Sailors jump quickly from the ship'
 - f. Inkukhu **yatakataka** sele inqunyulwe umqala
'The hen jumped up and down after its neck had been cut'
 - g. Abafundi **bagqoloda** kulo holo ngenxa yempumelelo
'Students jumped up and down in the hall because of victory'
 - h. Imazi yenkomo **iyajajula** xa ingafuni kusengwa
'The cow jumps away from the milking place'
 - i. Imfene **yayijakatyeka** kuloo mithi ibaleka izinja
'The baboon was jumping from tree to tree running away from dogs'

The verbs printed in bold in the above sentences in 39(a-i) show different types of jumping and are all [-cautious]. **Xhuma** in (a), **taka** in (e) and **takataka** in (f) may take place because of joy, fear, excitement or anger. **Takataka** in (f) means that there is duplication of this movement. **Dloba** in (d) and **gqoloda** in (g) means jumping because of happiness; the first usually refers to animals whilst the latter refers to human beings. Similarly, **dlokova** in (c) and **jajula** in (h) usually refer to animals where the first refers to the movement made by horses, donkeys and oxen when disapproving of the rider. **Jajula** refers to animals which can be milked, e.g. cows, goats and sheep. **Lakatyula** in (b) and **jakatyeka** in (c) mean the same movement.

From the run class there is also the verb **run** with different semantic features which may be shown by different verbs. Running may be [+/-fast] and both may have the feature [+/-cautious]. Consider the following diagram in (39):

(39)



Verbs with the feature [+fast, +cautious] can appear as in the following sentence examples:

- (40)
- a. USisa **unkqenkqeza** phambili
'Sisa runs in front of the group (in athletics)'
 - b. Isigidimi sakomkhulu **siyagidima** elalini
'The messenger runs in the location'
 - c. Iimbaleki **zasiphuka** kunye
'Runners started running fast at the same time'

In sentence 40(a) **nkqenkqeza** means that the movement is fast and the runner is coming first. This runner is also paying attention to the rules and regulations of the event. **Gidima** in 40(b) is also a way of running which is [+cautious] as the messenger is aware of where he is going. **Siphuka** in 40(c) is that fast, first movement in running. In sentence 40(a-c) there are precautions for the movement.

Verbs with the feature of [+fast, -cautious] can be used in the following way, as shown in example sentence (41):

- (41)
- a. Inkwenkwe **iyadwadwasa** ebaleni
'The boy runs like a mad man in front of the huts'

- b. **Igusha zadunguka** zibaleka izinja
'Sheep ran fast to all directions away from dogs'
- c. **Bandlandlatheka** ngathi balunywa zinyosi
'They ran fast uncautiously as if stung by bees'
- d. **Abaqhankqalazi batyhantyule** bakubona amapolisa
'Strikers ran away violently when they saw police'
- e. **Elo hashe liyabhentsuza**
'The horse is running fast with the tail up'
- f. **Aychola kulo lonke elo thafa amahashe**
'The horses were running all over the veld'

Dwadwasa in 41(a) and **ndlandlatheka** in 41(c) both have the meaning of running fast not even knowing where to go to. **Tyhantyula** in 41(d) involves some violence, while **bhentsuza** in 41(e) means that the tail (if it is an animal) or the kilt (if it is a human being) is up whilst running fast. **Dunguka** in 41(b) has the feature of, to start running fast in all directions.

Verbs with the feature of [-fast, +cautious] can be used as in the following sentences:

- (42)
- a. **Bayaqhuqha** xa besinga esikolweni
'They trot when they go to school'
 - b. **Eli hashe liyaphala**
'This horse is galloping'
 - c. **Lo mntwana uyaphalaphala** ukuze afumane ukutya
'This child runs about constantly in order to get food'
 - d. **Imbaleki ziyancunkca** kusasa
'Athletes trot early in the morning'

Qhuqha in 42(a) and **ncunkca** in 42(d) have the same meaning although the latter can also refer to animals. **Phala** in 42(b) and **phalaphala** in 42(c) also have the same meaning although **phalaphala** has a feature of constant.

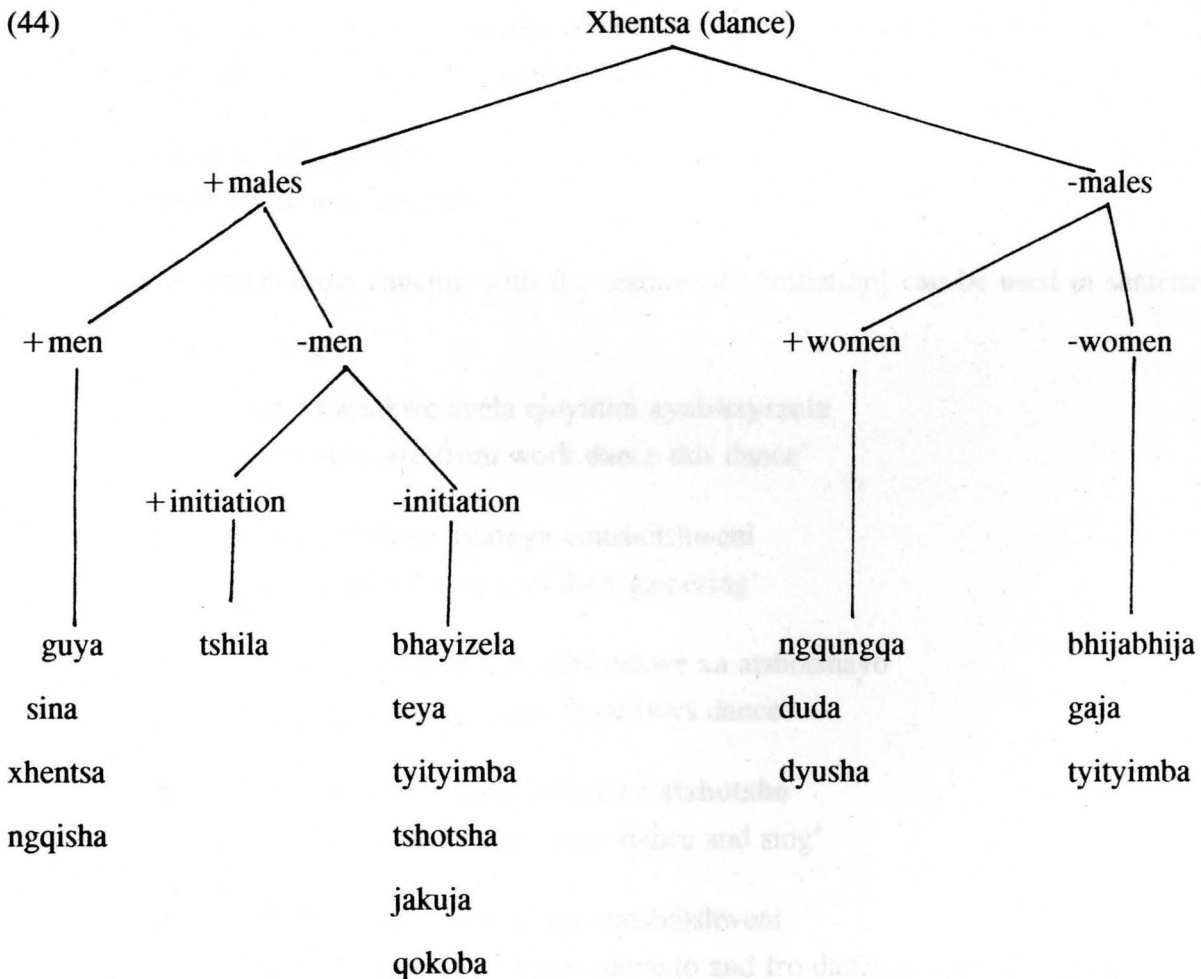
Verbs with the feature [-fast, -cautious] can appear as in the following sentences:

- (43)
- a. **Lo mdlali uyantanta** nje kweli bala
'This player runs hither and thither without purpose'

- b. Lo mtshakazi usoloko **eletsheza** phakathi kwabantu
'This bride runs about the place with disrespect'
- c. Musa **ukutshunguza** apha
'Do not run about here'

The three verbs in 43(a-c), respectively, **ntanta** in (a), **letsheza** in (b) and **tshunguza** in (c) show that there is no purpose for running, but running takes place. **Lesheza** in (b) has an additional feature of no respect.

Xhentsa (dance) is another verb included in the group of run class verbs. There are not only different ways of dancing in Xhosa, but these different ways are performed by different people. Dance can therefore get the feature of [+/-males], as presented in the following diagram:



Verbs with the feature [+men] can be used as in the following sentences:

- (45) a. Amadoda **ayaguya** xa kuphuma amakhwenkwe
'Men dance in the initiation feast'

- b. Abafana bamaBhaca **abasini** bayaqephuza
'Young Bhaca men tramp hard on the soil when dancing'
- c. **Iyaxhentsa** into kabani ize imise amaxhaka
'The thing of so and so can do men's dance, can even show horns'
- d. Amadoda **ayangqisha** xa axhentsayo
'Men tramp hard on the soil whilst dancing'

The bold verbs in 45(a-d) depict different movements done on different occasions. **Guya** in (a) is performed in an initiation feast, **sina** in (b) is usually done when people are rejoicing and in a beer hall (**etywaleni**). When there is a feast (**umgidi**) men can perform **xhentsa** as in (c) and within **ukuxhentsa** men can **ngqisha** (d) on the floor.

Verbs with the feature [+initiation] the **abakhwetha** (circumcized lads) also have a way of dancing, as shown in the following example sentence:

- (46) Abakhwetha **bayatshila**
'Dance of circumcized lads'

Motion verbs which show dancing with the feature of [-initiation] can be used in sentences as follows:

- (47)
- a. Amakhwenkwe avela ejoyinini **ayabhayizela**
'Boys who are from work dance this dance'
 - b. Amakhwenkwe **ayateya** emtshotshweni
'Boys dance this way in their gathering'
 - c. **Ayatyityimba** ke la makhwenkwe xa atshotshayo
'They quiver a lot when these boys dance'
 - d. Hlabelani ukuze amakhwenkwe **atshotshe**
'Sing so that these boys may dance and sing'
 - e. Amakhwenkwe **ayajakuja** emtshotshweni
'Boys through their bodies move to and fro dancing while gathering'
 - f. Amakhwenkwe **ayaqokoba**
'Boys dance their dance'

Most of the above movement are done by boys at their gathering with girls (**emtshotshweni**). The verbs in 47(a-f) are variations as found in **ukutshotsha** in (d). **Bhayizela** in (a) is usually done perfectly by boys who are already from work (**ejoyinini**).

The following sentences can be found with verbs which have the feature [-male, +woman]:

- (48)
- a. Abafazi **bayangqungqa** kwantonjane
'Women dance in Ntonjane place'
 - b. Abafazi **bayaduda** ngomhla omkhulu
'Women dance on big occasions'
 - c. UMaGcina **uyadyusha** ngeziya zakhe iinyawo
'MaGcina uses the feet perfectly when dancing'

Ngqungqa in 48(a) can be performed when there is an **intonjane** gathering. **Duda** in 48(b) is performed when there is a big ado or feast while **dyusha** in 48(c) is only concerned with the movement of the feet on the ground.

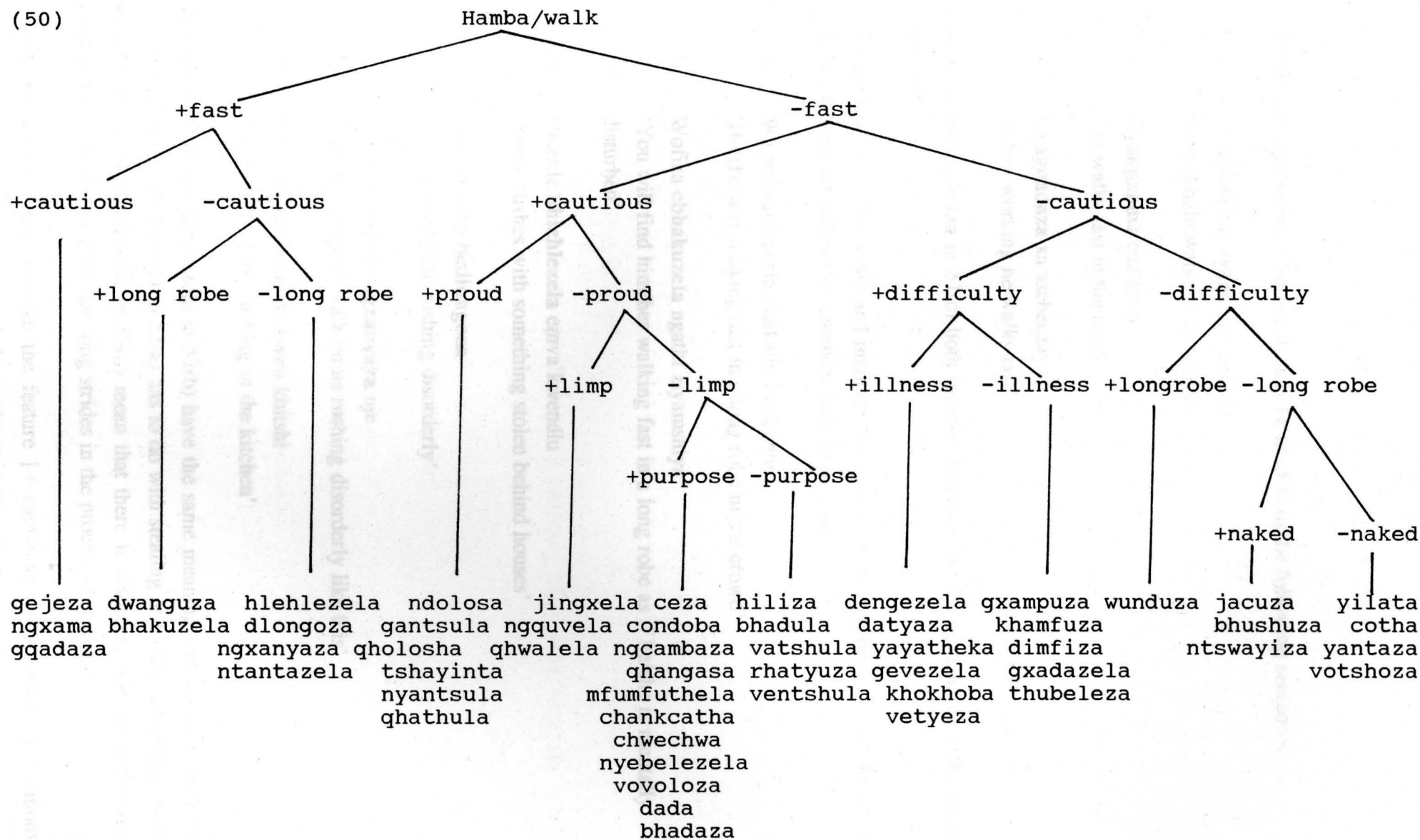
Verbs with the feature [-woman] can have the following movements:

- (49)
- a. Amantombazana **ayazibhijabhija** eholweni
'Girls are performing twist, jive in the hall'
 - b. NgeCawa malanga amantombazana **ayagaja** kwelo bala
'On Sunday afternoon girls dance in their gathering'
 - c. Wambi **ayatyityimba** emgajeni
'Some girls quiver when dancing'

Bhijabhija in 49(a) can be performed even by girls of the modern generation. **Gaja** in 49(b) is usually accompanied by singing and clapping of hands. The girls also quiver whilst doing another dance.

Walk is also included in the run class verbs and can have different semantic features which can be [+fast]. These semantic features are presented in diagram (50).

(50)



Verbs with the feature [+fast, +cautious], may be used as in the following sentences:

- (51) a. UMaSokhulu **uyagejeza** egadini
'MaSokhulu walks in the garden'
- b. Uyangxama endleleni
'He walks fast in the road'
- c. Uyagqadaza xa asebenzayo
'When working he walks fast'

Gejeza in 51(a) and **gqadaza** in 51(c) both involve diligence, whilst **ngxama** in 51(b) means just walking fast.

Verbs with the feature [+fast, -cautious] involves the feature [+/-long robes]. From the list of verbs with this feature the following sentences may be formed:

- (52) a. Wayedwanguzela phakathi kwabantu
'He/she was walking fast in a long robe in the crowd'
- b. Wofika **ebhakuzela** ngathi ziyamshiya
'You will find him/her walking fast in a long robe as if he/she is mentally disturbed'
- (53) a. UKetile **uhlehlezela** emva kwendlu
'Ketile rushes with something stolen behind houses'
- b. Badlula apha **bedlongoza**
'They passed here rushing disorderly'
- c. Uza kusinyathela **ugxanyaza** nje
'You are going to walk on us rushing disorderly like this'
- d. Ungafika **entantazele** kweli khitshi
'You will find her rushing in the kitchen'

Dwanguzela in 52(a) and **bhakuzela** in 52(b) have the same meaning and are verbs with the feature [+long robes]. **Hlehlezela** in 53(a) has to do with stealing or hiding something, while **dlongoza** in 53(b) and **ntantazela** in 53(d) mean that there is disorder. On the other hand **gxanyaza** in 53(c) shows that there are long strides in the process of walking.

Verbs with the feature [-fast] involve the feature [+/-cautious]. The feature [+cautious] involves [+/-proud] while [+proud] includes verbs as in the following sentences:

- (54)
- a. Abafana **bayandolosa** phambi kweentombi
'Young men walk proudly in front of girls'
 - b. Igorha **liyatshayinta** phambi kwababukeli ngenxa yoloyiso
'The brave man walks proudly in front of the spectators because of victory'
 - c. Le nkwenkwe **iyagantsula**
'This boy walks without fear in this location'

The verb **ndolosa** in 54(a) means walking proudly, **gantsula** in 54(c) involves boldness and less fear while **tshayinta** in 54(b) shows that the pride includes a challenge in it.

Verbs with the feature of [-proud] also has the feature [+limp], and [+limp] involves the following verbs:

- (55)
- a. Isiqhwala **siyajingxela**
'The limping person is limping'
 - b. **Uyangquvela** ngenxa yokwenzakala
'He is limping because of the injury'
 - c. **Uyaqhwarela** lo mdlali
'This player is limping'

Verbs with the feature [-limp] has the feature [+purpose] and verbs with the feature [+purpose] may appear as in the following sentences:

- (56)
- a. Abatshakazi **bayaceza** endlwini
'The brides walk on one side of the hut'
 - b. Amanenekazi **ayacondoba** ecaweni
'Ladies walk on toes in the church'
 - c. Umntwana **uyaqhangasa** ngenxa yethumba
'The child cannot put together legs when walking because of a boil'
 - d. **Bamfumfuthela** kobo bumnyama
'They walked trying to feel the path in darkness'
 - e. **Bachankcatha** emanqwanqweni
'They walk carefully on the pieces of wood'

- f. **Bayachwechwa** ukuze bangeviwa
'They creep so that they may not be heard'
- g. **Unganyebelezeli** kuza kudlalwa
'Do not go away hiding there is still going to be played'
- h. Nabo **beqhosinga** kwela qhina
'There they go slowly but carefully up the mountain'

Ceza in 56(a) refers to a case where one walks around, not directly to the place, e.g. brides use this way of walking for **hlonipha** purposes. **Condoba** in 56(b) is usually used when one wants to be careful, especially in the case of avoiding to make noise for other people. **Qhangasa** in 56(c) means that one is careful when walking because of something painful between the legs/thighs. **Mfumfuthela** in 56(d) shows that one is careful trying to find the path in the darkness. **Bachankcatha** in 56(e) means that there is something on which you walk. **Chwechwa** in 56(f) means that one does not want to be heard, while **nyebelezelela** 56(g) has to do with creeping and hiding and **qhosinga** in (h) means that one goes slowly up the mountain in a cautious manner.

Verbs with the feature of [-purpose] can involve the following sentences:

- (57)
- a. Uyathanda **ukuhiliza** lo mntwana
'This child likes to wander'
 - b. **Uvatshula** esiya phi namhlanje?
'Where is she wandering to?'
 - c. Esi sibhadubhadu **sibhadula** kule lali
'This loiterer wanders in the location'
 - d. UMaMjwarha **urhatyuza** kule mizi
'MaMjwarha goes from house to house without any fixed purpose'

The verbs in 57(a-d) printed in bold mean that there is wandering and loitering. The movement itself is not done carelessly, but has no aim or purpose. If the movement denoted by these verbs is not cautious, the verb is usually accompanied by a verb which has the feature [-cautious]. Consider the following examples:

- (58)
- a. Uyathanda **ukuhiliza entswayiza**
'He likes wandering around being naked'

- b. Uyathanda **ukuhiliza esadengezela**
'He likes wandering whilst still shaking from illness'
- c. Uyathanda **ukubhadula ecotha**
'He likes wandering, walking slowly or lazily'

Verbs with the feature [-cautious] may have the features of [+difficulty]. The feature [+difficulty] involves the features [+illness]. The following verbs may be found with the feature [+illness]:

- (59)
- a. **Uyadengezela** yingevane
'He is walking trembling because of fever'
 - b. **Usadatyaza** emva kwengulo ende
'He is still shaking when walking from the long illness'
 - c. **Uyayayatheka** kuba uvuka ekuguleni
'He walks very weakly because of illness'
 - d. Inyongo yenza amadolo **agevezele**
'Gall makes one's knees tremble when walking'
 - e. **Uyavetyeza** yipoliyo
'He cannot walk perfectly because of polio'

The verbs printed in bold in 59(a-e) mean that the person is trembling while walking.

Verbs with the feature [-illness] can be used in sentences as follows:

- (60)
- a. Amakhwenkwe agxampuza emanzini
'Boys walk with difficulty in the water'
 - b. Aba bantwana bakhamfuza kula santi
'These children walk with difficulty in the sand'
 - c. Nanko uTyebityebi edimfiza
'There is Tyebityebi walking with difficulty because of fatness'
 - d. Uyagxadazela butywala
'He is walking with difficulty because of liquor'

The verb **gxampuza** in 60(a) means that there is water or the place is muddy. **Khamfuza** in 60(b) shows that there is sand or loose soil. **Dimfiza** in 60(c) means that the way of walking

is affected by the weight of the person who is walking and **gxadazela** in 60(d) means that there is no balance because of liquor.

Verbs with the feature [-difficulty] involve the features [+long robes]. The feature [+long robes] involves the verb **wunduza** as in the following sentence:

- (61) **Uyawunduza** emathekweni
 'She walks wearing a long dress for parties'

Wunduza in this sentence means that the person walking has put on a long robe.

The feature [-long robe] involves the features [+naked], and verbs with the feature [+naked] can appear as in the following sentences:

- (62) a. **Ezo mbacu ziyajacuz**a
 'Those refugees are walking naked/in rags'
- b. **Abantwana bayabhushuza** elwandle
 'Children walk naked at the sea'
- c. **Abantwana bale lali bayantswayiza**
 'Children in this location walk naked'

The verb **bhushuza** in 62(b) and **tswayiza** in 62(c) mean that the person who is walking, is naked. **Jacuz**a in 62(a) may mean walking being naked or walking wearing old rags.

Verbs with the feature [-naked] may be used as in the following sentences:

- (63) a. **Uyayilata ngathi udinga into yokwenza**
 'He is walking to and fro as if he has nothing to do'
- b. **Uyacotha xa ethunywe evenkileni**
 'He walks very slowly when sent to the shop'
- c. **Ungafika eyantaza**
 'He walks lazily aimlessly'

The verbs used in (63) mean that there is slow movement and the people who are walking may not be cautious.

2.4.2 [-DEC] verbs

Verbs with the indirect external cause [-DEC] denote action that involves protagonist control. According to Roca (1992:252) run class includes verbs like run, walk, gallop, jump, skip and swim. These verbs involve a protagonist control, but in Xhosa they may also involve the direct external cause [+DEC]. Compare the following sentences:

- (64) a. Isele **liyataka** emanzini
'The frog is jumping in the water'
- b. Amafutha **ataka** epanini
'The oil jumps up and down in the pan'
- (65) a. Umntu **uyahamba**
'The person is walking'
- b. Amanzi **ayahamba**
'The water is moving'
- (66) a. Intombazana **iyantanta**
'The girl runs to and fro'
- b. Isitya **sintanta** phezu kwamanzi
'The dish floats on the water'
- (67) a. Omatiloshe **badada** elwandle
'The sailors swim in the sea'
- b. Inkunkuma **idada** phezu kwamanzi
'The dirt floats in the water'

The sentences in (a) in (64-67) have a [+animate] external argument. The verbs of these sentences involve a protagonist control. The (b) sentences of (65-67) do not involve the protagonist control, but the verbs in these sentences have a direct external cause. This means that in Xhosa **hamba** may also mean to move.

According to Roca (1992:252) move belongs to roll class. The external argument of all (b) sentences in (65-67) are [-animate]. The verbs of these sentences involve the [+DEC] because the [-animate] NP cannot be a protagonist controller. This would then mean that **hamba**, meaning to move, should not be taken as belonging to the [-DEC] verbs. This fact also applies to **baleka** (run), **taka** (jump) and **dada** (swim). Compare the following sentences in (68):

- (68)
- a. Imoto **iyabaleka** endleleni
'The car runs on the road'
 - b. Ugcado **lwataka** embizeni
'Dried mealies jump in the pot'
 - c. Isikhitshane **sidada** emanzini
'The boat floats on the water'

2.4.3 [+DEC] verbs

The [+DEC] involves an external force, such as push and gravity. Verbs like roll, slide, move, swing, spin and rotate are involved in this group depicting different ways of moving which may be referred to as **hamba** (walk) in Xhosa. Compare the following examples:

- (69)
- a. Inqwelo **iyakekela** (Inqwelo [**ihamba ngecala**])
'The wagon is sliding'
 - b. Ivili **liyajikeleza** (Ivili [**liya ngapha nangapha**])
'The wheel is rolling'

[+DEC] verbs can involve external argument which can have a will and can intentionally initiate the action which is expressed by the predicate.

- (70)
- a. Umdlali **waqengqeleka** ukuze abeke ibhola emgceni
'The player rolled in order to score on the line'
 - b. Abantwana **batshebelezela** emtshibilizweni bedlala
'Children played slipping in the slippery place'
 - c. Yizani size **kutyibilika** kweli cala, kumnandi ke khona ukudlala ekhephini
'Come let us slip this side, it is nice to play like this on the snow'

In 70(a-c) the NPs are nouns which are [+animate] and have a will which can intentionally initiate the action. These NPs are involved in an activity which involves the external force, but at the same time they have initiated the action expressed by the verbs which have a feature [+DEC].

According to the definition of theme role, the theme is the person or thing moved by the action expressed by the predicate. (Haegeman, 1991). According to Cowie (1992) a theme is something that moves. NPs which are external arguments of [+DEC] verbs should therefore be themes because they are involved where there is an external force. However, in some

instances, as in 70(a-c) the NPs have a will and intention for action and are therefore not taken by surprise by the external force. It must be noted that the same verbs may assign a theta-role of theme even if the NP is [+animate] and has no intention for the action expressed by the predicate.

- (71)
- a. Umakhi **watyibilika** encotsheni yendlu
'The builder slipped (moved down) from the top of the house'
 - b. Wathi akuwa ehasheni **waqengqelesa** kwelo thambeka
'When he fell from the horse, he rolled down the mountain'
 - c. Ndazibona sele **nditshebeleza** ukubheka ezantsi ndingaqondanga
'I found myself slipping (moving down) unawares'

The external argument in sentences 71(a-c) are themes. The external arguments had no intention of the actions expressed by the predicates, they are just moving entities.

There are [+DEC] verbs which can assign a theta role of theme and one of agent, depending on the moving entity. If the entity is [+animate] and has an intention for the activity expressed by the verb, the theta role of agent will be assigned, but if there was no intention, the entity was taken by surprise and will have a theta role of theme.

- (72)
- a. Umdlali wombhoxo uyaqengqelesa ukuze abeke ibhola emgceni
'The rugby player rolls in order to put the ball on the line'
 - b. Bawa baqengqelesa kwelo thambeka limqengqelesi
'They fell and rolled down the steep hill'

The external argument in 72(a) is an agent but in 72(b) it is a theme. Within these [+DEC] verbs there are verbs which cannot comply to the above situation. These verbs do not happen, or their activities do not take place because of the decision and the intention of the entity which is in motion, they are just pure [+DEC] verbs. Compare the following examples:

- (73)
- a. Umlambo uyalembeleza
'The river is meandering'
 - b. Indoda iyakhukuliseka emlanjeni
'The man was swept away in the river'
 - c. Nabo bentlitheka kumatye omlambo
'There they are buffeted on the stones of the river'

- d. Wantlaleka ukubheka ezantsi
'He was knocked about and sent here and there down'

2.4.4 Conclusion

It has been established in this section that [+DEC] verbs can only assign the role of theme. The involvement of this feature means that the moving entity is engaged in the activity of moving through the contribution of an external force, which may be a push or gravity. The moving entity does not move deliberately and may be [+animate] or [-animate]. Consider the following example sentences:

- (74)
- a. Umsinga **uyalembezela**
'The stream is meandering'
 - b. Iinkomo **zakhukuliseka**
'The cows were pushed down the stream'
 - c. Iigusha **zeyeliseka**
'The sheep were pushed down'
 - d. Amaza **antlaleka** ematweni
'The waves move hard on to stones'
 - e. Umntwana **wantlitheka** ukubheka emazantsi omlambo
'The child was rolling hard onto stones down the river'

The external argument in the sentences in 74(a-e) have no choice in moving but are moved by an external force.

It has also been established in this section that there are [-DEC] verbs which can assign a theta role of agent/actor to the external argument. These verbs involve a protagonist control and the external argument is [+animate], as shown in the following sentences:

- (75)
- a. Umfazi **uyagejeza**
'The woman walks diligently'
 - b. Izithwalandwe **ziyadwanguza**
'The graduates walk fast in long robes'
 - c. Abafana **bayandolosa**
'The young men walk proudly'

- d. Isiqhwala **siyangquvela**
'The limping person limps'
- e. Amanenekazi **ayacondoba**
'The ladies walk on their toes'
- f. Isibhadu-bhadu **siyabhadula**
'The loiterer wanders about'
- g. Lo mfazi **uyadimfiza**
'This woman walks with difficulty because of fatness'

- (76)
- a. *Amanzi **ayagejeza**
'Water walks diligently'
 - b. *Imithi **iyadwanguza**
'The trees walk in long robes'
 - c. *Imoto **iyandolosa**
'The car walks proudly'
 - d. *Umlambo **uyangquvela**
'The river is limping'
 - e. *Iintyatyambo **ziyacondoba**
'The flowers walk on their toes'
 - f. *Amatye **ayabhadula**
'The stones are wandering'
 - g. *Iphepha **liyadimfiza**
'The paper is walking with difficulty because it is fat'

In sentences 75(a-g) the verbs denote an action that involves a protagonist control and the entities which are external arguments have a will, capable of volition and acting deliberately. In sentences 76(a-g) however, the same verbs have been used with entities which are [-animate]. These sentences are ungrammatical as the entities cannot carry out the mentioned activities because they have no volition.

Consider the following sentences with [+DEC] verbs.

- (77)
- a. Umntu **uyahamba**
'The man is walking'

- b. Imbaleki **ziyabaleka**
'Athletes are running'
- c. Amadoda **ayaxhentsa**
'Men are dancing'
- d. Inkomo **ziyatsiba** ebuhlanti
'Cattle jump from the kraal'
- e. Umatiloshe **uyadada**
'The sailor is swimming'

The verbs printed in bold in sentences 77(a-e) can be used randomly in Xhosa. They can appear in sentences with [+animate] as well as in sentences with [-animate] external arguments. It is obvious that a [-animate] entity cannot be involved in activities found in sentences 77(a-e) deliberately or voluntarily. If the external argument is [-animate] it cannot walk on its own but is moved by an external force in order to perform the activity. The entity will therefore be moving, but not by itself. Consider the following sentences:

- (78)
- a. Amanzi **ayahamba** emlanjeni
'The water moves in the river'
 - b. Imoto **iyabaleka** emgaqweni
'The car runs on the road'
 - c. Inkobe ziyaxhentsa
'The boiled mealies are dancing'
 - d. Isidudu **siyatsiba** kula mbiza
'The wet porridge jumps in that pot'
 - e. Iphepha **lidada** emanzini
'The paper floats on the water'
 - f. Inqwelo-moya **iyabhabha** esibhakabhakeni
'The plane flies in the sky'

The verbs printed in bold in sentences 78(a-f) imply that the movement is carried out by an external argument through the involvement of an external cause which may be push or gravity. The water in 78(a), car in 78(b), mealies in 78(c) wet porridge in 78(d) paper in 78(e) and plane in 78(f) cannot decide on their own to carry out the movement. The role assigned by the

verbs in these sentences is that of theme and they now fall under the [+DEC] verbs and not under the [-DEC] category. The same verbs in 77(a-e) have assigned a role of agent.

It has also been established that from the [+DEC] verbs, there are verbs which involve a direct external cause, i.e. they involve an activity which is contributed by an external force like a push or by gravity. The entity which is in motion can choose and decide on its own to embark on that activity or at the same time it is involved voluntarily and deliberately. These verbs can therefore be classified as [+DEC] verbs. Consider the following example sentences:

- (79)
- a. Abadlali bayathanda **ukuqengqeleka** engceni eluhlaza
'Players like to roll on green grass'
 - b. Yekani ukudlala. kunini **nityibilika** kolu daka
'Stop playing. You have been slipping on this mud for a long time'
 - c. Inyoka yaselwandle **iphethu-phethuka** emanzini xa ifuna ukutya
'The hydra rolls in the water when it wants food'
- (80)
- a. Umakhi **waqengqeleka** kuphahla lwendlu
'The builder rolled from the roof of the house'
 - b. **Watyibilika** kuloo mkhenkce wophuka umlenze
'He slipped in that ice and broke the leg'
 - c. Inyoka yaselwandle iphethu-phethuka emanzini ngenxa yomsinga
'The hydra rolls in the water because of the stream'

The external arguments in 79(a-c) are assigned a theta role of agent/actor, because they have an intention and will and the activities are carried out deliberately. The external argument in 80(a-c) are assigned a theta role of theme because they are just entities which are moved.

SECTION 3

3. FEATURES OF MOTION VERBS

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This section will deal with the semantic features of motion verbs. The features of a locative argument will be identified while the locative as a complement of a motion verb and the interpretation of a locative argument will be investigated. Types of theta roles will be presented, while locative inversion, time clauses and commands will be dealt with.

3.1.1 Locative phrases: locative arguments

Locative noun phrases used to have their own gender class and like any gender class they could appear in different sentential positions. This ability of locative nouns have mostly been lost but there are still remnants of it (du Plessis and Visser, 1992).

In the Bantu languages there are noun classes which have prefixes denoting location, i.e. classes 16, 17 and 18.

(1) Class 16 nouns

The prefix for Class 16 is **pha-**:

phantsi (underneath)

phakathi (middle)

phambili (front)

phezulu (on top)

phandle (outside)

(2) Class 17 nouns

The prefix for Class 17 is **ku-**:

kude (far)

kufuphi (near)

(3) Class 18 nouns

The prefix for Class 18 is **m-**:

mva (back)

The nouns of the class examples in (1) to (3) can be used in the same way as other locatives. In Xhosa there are three types of locatives, i.e. the old noun classes shown in (1) to (3), the locative nouns with morphemes **e-** and **-ini** and locative prepositional phrases with the preposition **ku-**.

Old locative nouns

- (4)
- a. Umntwana utyibilika **phantsi**
'The child slips on the floor'
 - b. UNosipho unkqenkqeza **phambili**
'Nosipho runs in front'
 - c. Intaka ibhabha **phezulu**
'The bird flies up'
 - d. Ndifuna ukulala **phakathi**
'I want to sleep in the middle'
 - e. Abantwana bavela **phandle**
'The children come from outside'

Locative nouns with **e-** and **-ini** morphemes.

- (5)
- a. Abafundi baya [esikolweni]
'Students go to school'
 - b. Amanenekazi ayacondoza [ecaweni]
'Ladies walk on their toes in the church'
 - c. Uloliwe ufika [esitishini]
'The train arrives in the station'
 - d. Amatye aqengqeleka [ethambekeni]
'The stones roll from the side of the mountain'

In some cases the morpheme **e-** may be used without being accompanied by **-ini**.

- (6)
- a. Ndiya [ekhaya]
'I go home'
 - b. Bavela [eMtata]
'They come from Mtata'

- c. Amaphela ehla [entungo]
'Cockroach move down from up'
- d. Isidudu siphuphuma [eziko]
'Wet porridge move out from fire place'

Locative prepositional phrases.

- (7) a. Sivela [kuTsolo]
'We come from Tsolo'
- b. Siya [kumama]
'We go to mother'
- c. Baza kuhla [kuQumbu]
'They will go down at Qumbu'
- d. OThemba benyuka [kuSihota]
'Thembas climb Sihota mountain'

According to du Plessis and Visser (1992) these locative noun phrases can be used as an object of the verb, although this may be under restricted conditions.

3.1.2 A locative as a complement

Motion verbs are intransitive verbs and are therefore regarded as one-place-predicates. These verbs may have an internal argument which is a locative noun phrase. It should be noted that this locative noun phrase is not an object of the verb, but a complement. According to du Plessis and Visser (1992:61) locative complements have theta-roles if they are complements of verbs of motion or location, as in the following sentences:

- (8) a. Ndiza kuya [ehotela]
'I will go to the hotel'
- b. Beka ezi zinto [etafileni]
'Put these things on the table'

If the locative complements have a theta role, they should also have a status of argument. According to Sells (1985:36) the theta criterion states that each argument bears one and only one theta role, and each theta role is assigned to one and only one argument. The three types of locatives will then appear as internal arguments of the motion verbs. Consider the following example sentences:

- (9) a. Abantwana bafika [esikolweni]
'Children arrive at school'
- b. Inqwelo-moya ibhabha [esibhakabhakeni]
'The plane flies in the sky'
- c. Umntwana utyibilika [eludakeni]
'The child slips on the mud'
- d. Amakhwenkwe ayatshotsha [emtshotshweni]
'The boys dance in their gathering'
- (10) a. Siya [ekhaya]
'We go home'
- b. Bayemka [efama]
'They go away from farm'
- c. Bayabuya [eKapa]
'They come back from Cape Town'
- (11) a. Bafika [kunina]
'They arrived at the mother'
- b. Bavela [kuQumbu]
'They come from Qumbu'
- (12) a. Inkungu ikhasa [phantsi]
'The fog crawls down'
- b. Bavela [kude]
'They come from far'
- c. Amakhwenkwe ahamba [emva]
'The boys walk behind'

3.1.3 Interpretation of locative argument

According to Madadzhe (1992:8) an argument is an expression which bears a thematic role. Locative arguments, just like other arguments, are theta-marked by the predicates. According to Haegeman (1991:45) one criterion of judging whether a sentence is grammatical is that the thematic roles associated with the predicates must be assigned to arguments. Thematic roles

provide semantic information and the semantic relation can be established through the assignment of these. The theta roles indicate the relationship between the argument and its predicate.

3.1.3.1 Different types of theta roles

There are different types of theta roles which can be assigned to different arguments by different predicates. The following gives an indication of some of the theta roles:

(a) Agent

According to Cowper (1992:48) an agent is the initiator or doer of the action and must be capable of volition (desire) or deliberate action. Haegeman (1991:41) states that an agent is the entity which intentionally initiates the action expressed by the predicate. From this definition it can be deduced that the agent should be [+animate] because it should initiate the action, as in the following example:

- (13) **UThemba uyahamba**
'Themba is walking'

(b) Instrument

According to Cowper (1992:50) an instrument is the object with which an action is performed, as in example (14).

- (14) **Basika ngebhozo**
'They cut with a knife'

(c) Theme

Haegeman (1991:42) defines theme as the entity affected by the action expressed by the predicate. Cowper (1992) states on the other side, that theme occurs with verbs of motion or location. With the verb of location it is the entity whose location is being described, while with a verb of motion the theme is what moves. Consider the following example sentence:

- (15) **Ilitye liyawa**
'The stone is falling'

(d) Location

Location means the place in which the action or state expressed by the predicate is situated (Haegeman, 1991:42). It is a concrete or abstract place where something is in existence.

- (16) a. Abantu bahlala **endlwini**
 'People stay in the house'
- b. Yifake **engqondweni** le nto
 'Put this in your mind'

(e) Experiencer

The semantic role of experiencer is concerned with mental states. According to Cowper (1992:50) an experiencer is the individual who feels or perceives the event.

- (17) a. **USipho** uyayithandainja
 'Sipho loves the dog'
- b. **Intombazana** yonwabile
 'The girl is happy'

(f) Source

Source is the entity from which the motion takes place. According to Haegeman (1991:42) it is the entity from which something is moved as a result of the activity expressed by the predicate. The motion can be abstract or concrete.

- (18) a. Abadlali bavela **eThekwini**
 'Players come from Durban'
- b. Bataka **esikhepheni**
 'They jump from the boat'

(g) Goal

The goal is the object to which motion proceeds (Jackendoff, 1972). According to Haegeman (1991:42) the goal is the entity towards which the activity expressed by the predicate is directed. Cowper (1991:49) defines goal as the entity towards which motion takes place. Motion may be concrete or abstract, as shown in the following example sentences:

- (19) a. Abahambi baya **elwandle**
 'Travellers go to the sea'
- b. Abafunda baya **kutitshala**
 'Students go to the teacher'

(h) Recipient

Cowper (1992:49) states that recipient is a sub-type of goal thematic relation. It occurs with the verbs denoting change of possession such as give, donate and receive.

- (20) USisa uphiwe ibhayisekile
 'Sisa has been given a bicycle'

(i) Patient

The patient is the entity which undergoes the action expressed by the predicate.

- (21) Indoda ikhaba umfazi
 'The man kicks the wife'

(j) Benefactive

The benefactive is the entity that benefits from the action expressed by the predicate, as stated by Haegeman (1991).

- (22) Ndiphekela abantwana ukutya
 'I cook food for the children'

(k) Percept

Cowper (1992:50) defines percept as the entity which is expressed or perceived.

- (23) Amakhwenkwe eva ivumba
 'Boys feel the smell'

(l) Direction

Dyubeni (1993:29) defines direction as the argument indicating the direction of the movement.

- (24) Ndingxamele uloliwe
'I am rushing for the train'

(m) Purpose

According to Dyubeni (1993:28) purpose can be described as the argument indicating a purpose or aim of doing something.

- (25) UFikile ulwela indebe
'Fikile fights for the trophy'

(n) Cause

The cause is an entity which expresses the cause of an action. According to Dyubeni (1993:28) cause is an argument indicating a reason why something is done.

- (26) Amadoda ahlalele utywala
'Men are staying for the sake of liquor'

The motion verbs cannot assign all the above theta roles to their internal arguments. Jackendoff (1972:31) states that they have the thematic relation, source and goal with verbs of motion. This is, however, not the case with Xhosa motion verbs.

3.1.3.2 Location

The interpretation of location may appear with motion verbs. The locative may have a meaning of location and the argument may be [+animate] or [-animate]. Consider the following example sentences:

- (27) a. Uloliwe wafika **esikhululweni**
'The train arrived at the station'
- b. Imoto ihamba **endleleni**
'The car moves on the road'
- c. Abafana baxhentsa **entlombeni**
'The young men dance at their gathering'

- d. Abafazi bangqungqa **emgidini**
'Women dance at the feast'
 - e. Ihashe lidlokova **emdyarhweni**
'The horse gallops in the race'
- (28)
- a. Umtwana wafika **kunina**
'The child arrived at the mother'
 - b. Iphuphu lihamba **emntwaneni**
'The caterpillar moves on the child'
 - c. *Abafana baxhentsa **emantombazaneni**
'The young men dance on girls'
 - d. *Abafazi bangqungqa **emadodeni**
'The women dance on men'

The locative arguments in 28(a) and (b) are [+animate] and have an interpretation of location. The locative arguments in 28(c) and (d) are also [+animate] but these sentences are unaccepted in Xhosa; no one is allowed to dance literally on another human being, however, it might be allowed if it is meant figuratively. This means that motion verbs denoting dance may assign a theta role of location only to locative arguments which are [-animate].

3.1.3.3 Direction

The locative argument may also be interpreted with the meaning of direction, in which case it may be [+animate] or [-animate].

- (29)
- a. Ndiya **esikolweni**
'I go to school'
 - b. Ndisinga **edolophini**
'I go towards town'
 - c. Iigusha zihla **entabeni**
'Sheep move down the mountain'
 - d. Abantu banyuka **entabeni**
'People move up the mountain'

- e. Abantwana beza **esikolweni**
'Children come to school'

The locative arguments in 29(a-e) are [-animate]. The same motion verbs may also appear with [+animate] locative arguments. Compare the following sentences:

- (30) a. Ndiya **kumama**
'I go to mother'
- b. Abafundi beza **kutitshala**
'The students go to teacher'
- c. Abaqhankqalazi basinga **kusodolophu**
'The strikers move towards the mayor'
- d. Iphuphu linyuka **emntwaneni**
'The caterpillar moves up on the child'

3.1.3.4 Source

Some motion verbs take locatives with the meaning of source, irrespective of whether the noun is [+animate] or [-animate].

- (31) a. Amakhwenkwe avela **phesheya**
'Boys come from across'
- b. Iimvumi zibuya **ekonsathini**
'Singers come from a concert'
- c. Abasebenzi bayemka **efama**
'Workers leave the farm'
- d. Abantwana batyibilika **eludakeni**
'Children slip on the mud'
- e. Amatye aqengqeleka **entabeni**
'Stones roll from the mountain'
- f. Abatyeleli baphuma **kwinqwelo-ntaka**
'Visitors move out from the plane'

The locative phrases in the above sentences are [-animate]. In some instances some of the above motion verbs may appear with [+animate] locative complements, as in the following example sentences:

- (32) a. Amadoda avela **enkosini**
 'Men come from the king'
- b. Umfazi wemka **kulo ndoda**
 'The woman left that man'

3.1.3.5 Cause

There is a class of verbs which has a regular alternation as transitive and intransitive verbs. This alteration is linked to the occurrence of the verbal derivational suffix **-l-** and **-k-**, for example:

- (33) Krazula (tear)
 Krazuka (be torn)

In (33) the suffix **-l-** appears in **krazula** which is transitive and the suffix **-k-** in **krazuka** which is intransitive. Consider the following example sentences:

- (34) a. Amakhwenkwe **akrazula** ibhayi
 'The boys tear the blanket'
- b. Ibhayi **liyakrazuka**
 'The blanket is torn'

With motion verbs there are verbs which can fit in this class of verbs, as shown in the following sentences:

- (35) a. Umoya uphephula amaphepha
 'The wind blows away the papers'
- b. Amaphepha ayaphephuka emoyeni
 'Papers are caused to go away fast in the wind'
- (36) a. Amanzi aphethula umnyiki
 'The water rolls the caterpillar'
- b. Umnyiki uphethuka emanzini
 'The caterpillar is caused to roll in the water'

The suffix **-l-** bears the semantic feature of causative and the suffix **-k-** has the feature anticausative. **Umoya** in 35(a), **amanzi** in 36(a) and **umsinga** in 37 (a) are causative. **Amaphepha** in 35(a), **umnyiki** in 36(a) and **iphenyane** in 37(a) are themes. These themes are made to move by **umoya**, **amanzi** and **umsinga**. Therefore the NPs which are causative in the

(a) sentences are locatives in the (b) sentences. The locatives are formed from the nouns which are the cause of the motion.

- (39) Umoya ---- [emoyeni]
 Amanzi --- [emanzini]
 Umsinga -- [emsingeni]

These locative arguments are then assigned the thematic role of cause and are the reason for the movement. These locative arguments cannot mean location because they do not mean the place where something is; they cannot be source because they do not mean the entity from which motion takes place and they cannot mean direction because they do not indicate the direction of the movement.

3.1.4 Motion verbs with inherent location meaning

In Xhosa there are motion verbs with the meaning of inherent location. Compare the following example sentences:

- (40) a. Abafundi bayagoduka
 'Students go home'
 b. Iinkomo ziyagoduka
 'Cattle move towards home'
 c. Iindwendwe ziyagoduka
 'Visitors go home'
 d. Iintaka ziyagoduka
 'Birds go to their sleeping place'

In all the sentences in 40(a-d) **goduka** has inherent locative meaning. Once the word **goduka** is used in Xhosa, the listener thinks of the home. **Goduka** means **go**, but within it, it also gives the direction where to go to. **Goduka** refers one to his/her home, or where he comes from.

- (41) Godukani, ningalali, kuza uGilikankqo
 'Go home, do not sleep, something bad is coming'

In this sentence **goduka** means that they should go home.

- (42) Safuduka njengezizwe zonke
 'We left the place permanently just like other tribes'

Fuduka in (42) has inherent locative meaning; it means that people go away from where they have been staying. The following verbs also have inherent locative meaning.

- (43)
- a. Umfula uyalembenza
'The river moves down the mountain'
 - b. Abakhwetha bayatshila
'The boys in the initiation school dance'

Lembeza in 43(a) has an inherent locative meaning because it involves the movement and the direction of the river. **Tshila** in 43(b) also has an inherent locative meaning because this type of dance is only done in one place (**ebakhwetheni**) by the same people. There is no need then to tell people the place where the action (dance) takes place because it is included in the verb.

3.1.5 Motion verbs with external argument only

Motion verbs are intransitive and therefore one-place argument predicates which have an external argument only. For the motion verbs the locative argument is a complement and not an object. Some verbs which have an inherent locative meaning may appear without the internal argument but with an external argument only. Consider the following example sentences:

- (44)
- a. Umlambo uyalembenza
'The river moves down the mountains'
 - b. Abantwana bayagoduka
'The children are going home'
 - c. Abahlali bayafuduka
'The dwellers are moving away from this area'

3.2 LOCATIVE INVERSION

According to Stowell (1992:54) a locative phrase is preposed and the subject is postposed in a locative inversion. The locative inversion can take place with different types of motion verbs. The locative is an argument and as any argument it can appear as a subject of a sentence. Different locative categories may be preposed during locative inversion.

3.2.1 Locative categories

(a) Locative morpheme **e-/-ini**

The locative can be expressed in two ways by the two locative affixes **e-/-ini** or by means of the locative preposition **ku-**. Semantically there is no difference between the two, the difference is only syntactical.

- (45)
- a. Abantwana baya **edolophini**
'Children go to town'
 - b. Abantwana baya **kunina**
'Children go to the mother'

Edolophini in 45(a) is a noun phrase and has all features of any noun phrase. The locative affix **e-/-ini** can be used in all nouns except in Class 1a and 2a and with deverbatives in Class 1 and 2.

- (46)
- a. Yiya **ebuhlanti**
'Go to the kraal'
 - b. Yiya **kubawo**
'Go to the father'
 - c. Yiya **kumfundi**
'Go to the student'

With some nouns the suffix **-ini** may be left out but the prefix **e-** must always be used. Consider the following sentences:

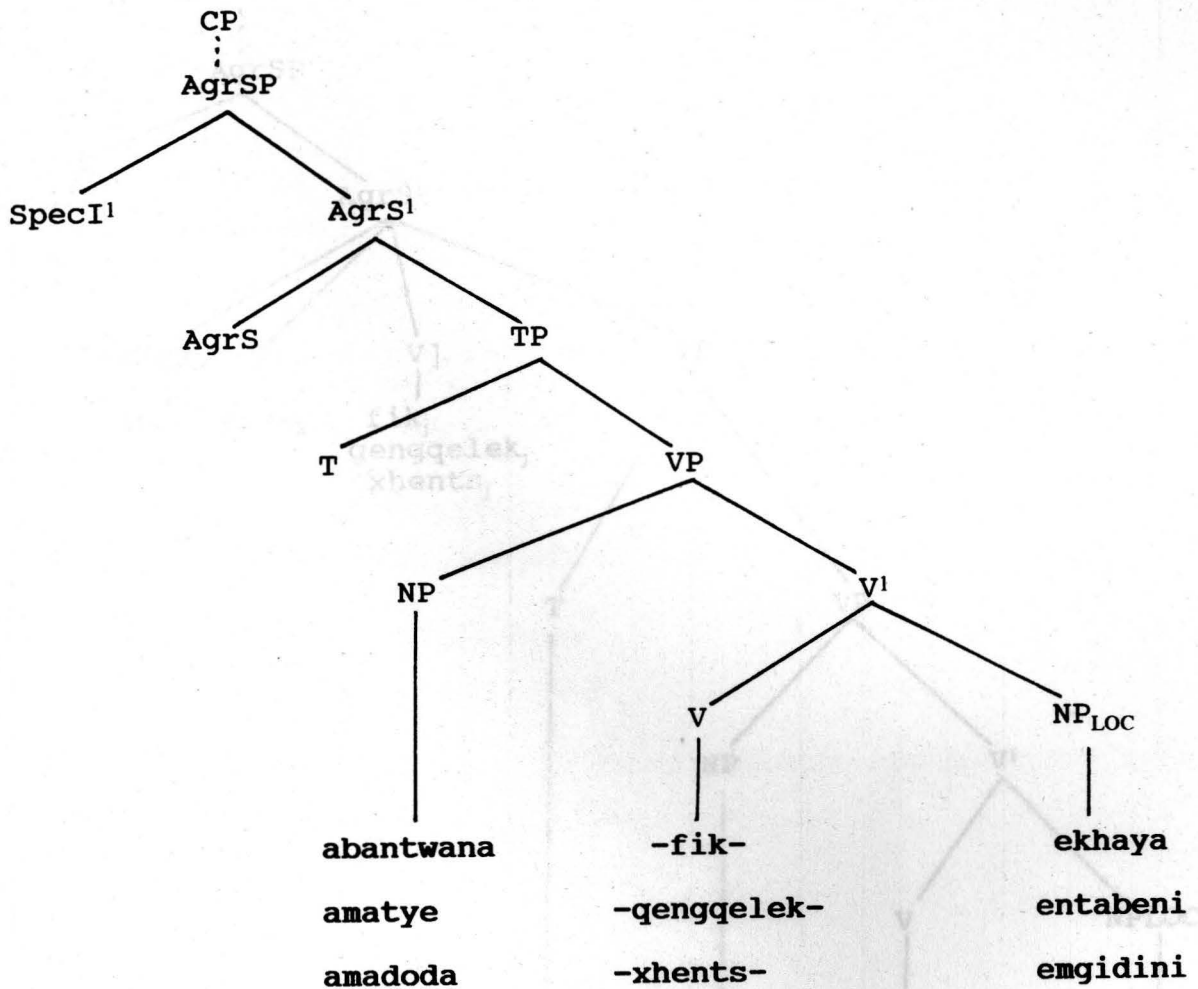
- (47)
- a. Bahamba **endleleni**
'They walk on the road'
 - b. Bavela **eMaluti**
'They come from Maluti'

The locative formed by the locative affixes **e-/-ini** may appear in locative inversion, as in the following example sentences:

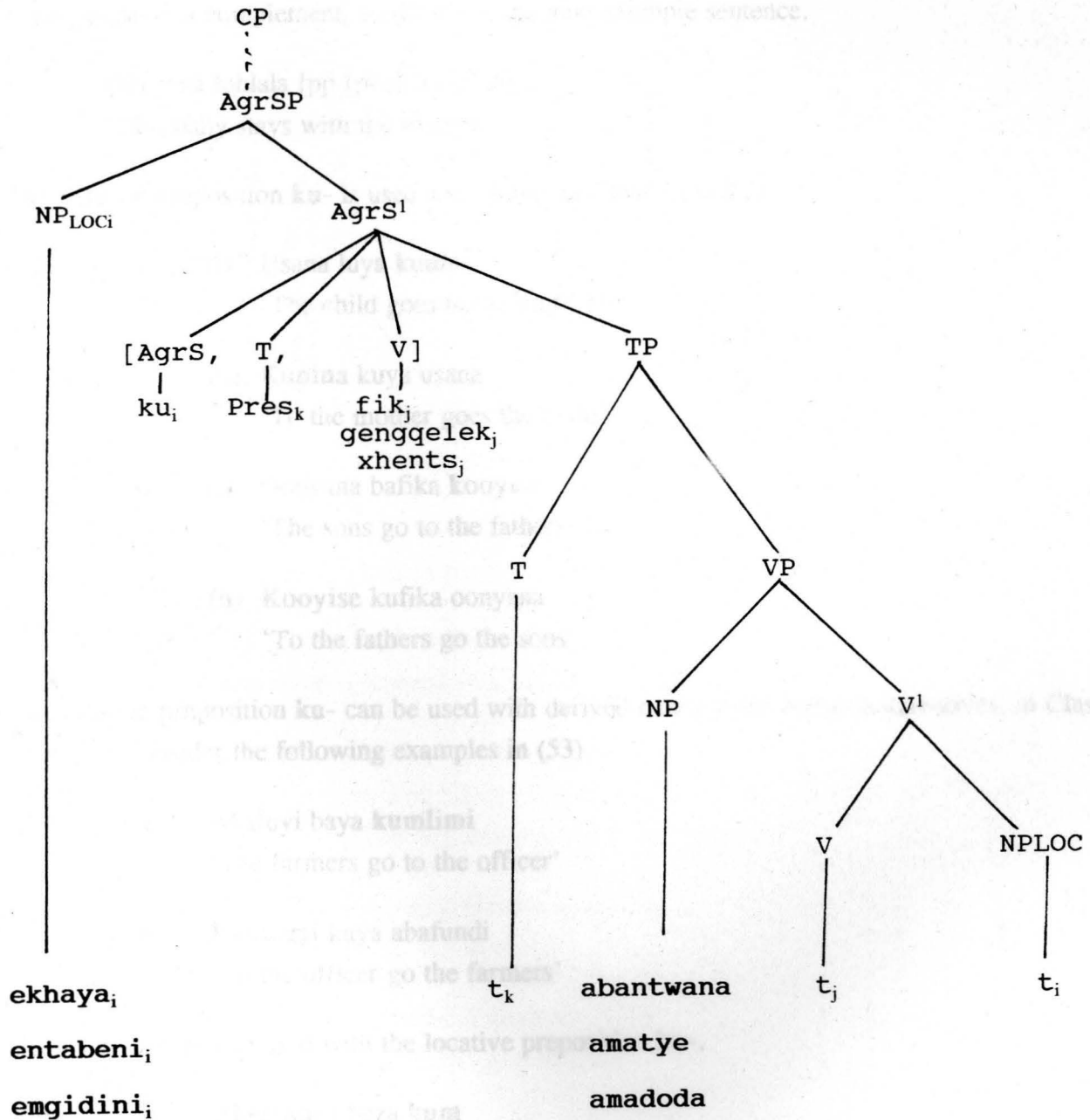
- (48)
- a.
 - (i) Abantwana bafika **ekhaya**
'Children arrive at home'
 - (ii) **Ekhaya** kufika abantwana
'At home there arrive children'
 - b.
 - (i) Amatye aqengqeleka **entabeni**
'Stones roll from the mountain'
 - (ii) **Entabeni** kuqengqeleka amatye
'From the mountain there roll stones'
 - c.
 - (i) Amadoda axhentsa **emgidini**
'The men dance in the feast'
 - (ii) **Emgidini** kuxhentsa amadoda
'In the feast there dance men'

The examples in 48(a-c) have the following structure:

(49) Deep structure



(50) Surface structure



In structure (50) above the NP_{LOC} has been moved to the specifier position leaving a trace (t_i) behind. Tense (T) has been moved to AgrS to allow for case assignment. The verbs **-fik-**, **-qengqelek-** and **xhents-** have been raised to AgrS to allow the surface structure of the verb with its inflectional categories.

(b) Locative preposition ku-

The locative may be expressed by the preposition **ku-** which is regarded as a preposition with a noun phrase as a complement, as shown in the next example sentence.

- (51) Olu sana luhlala [pp [pku] NP nina]
 'This baby stays with the mother'

The locative preposition **ku-** is used with nouns of Class 1a and 2a.

- (52) a. (i) Usana luya **kunina**
 'The child goes to the mother'
- (ii) **Kunina** kuya usana
 'To the mother goes the child'
- b. (i) Oonyana bafika **kooyise**
 'The sons go to the fathers'
- (ii) **Kooyise** kufika oonyana
 'To the fathers go the sons'

The locative preposition **ku-** can be used with derived nouns from verbs, deverbatives, in Class 1 and 2. Consider the following examples in (53).

- (53) a. Abafuyi baya **kumlimi**
 'The farmers go to the officer'
- b. **Kumlimi** kuya abafundi
 'To the officer go the farmers'

Pronouns can also be used with the locative preposition **ku-**.

- (54) a. Abantwana beza **kum**
 'Children come to me'
- b. **Kum** kuza abantwana
 'To me there come children'

The locative preposition may appear with all nominal modifiers when they are used without their heads or when these modifiers are in a specifier position before the head.

- (55) a. Baphuma **kulo mzi**
 'They come out from this kraal'
- b. **Kulo mzi** kuphuma bona
 'From this kraal there come out them'

The quantifiers **onke**, **odwa** and **ona** can also be used with the locative preposition **ku-** but they need a pronoun in order to appear together with **ku-**.

- (56) a. Amakhwenkwe afika **kubo bodwa**
 'The boys got to them only'
- b. **Kubo bodwa** kwafika amakhwenkwe
 'To them only there got the boys'

The locative preposition **ku-** can also be used with media words such as publications.

- (57) a. Imifanekiso iphuma **kwiMvo/kwiNtsimbi/kwiWamba**
 'The pictures came from Mvo/Ntsimbi/Wamba'
- b. **KwiMvo/kwiNtsimbi/kwiWamba** kuphuma imifanekiso
 'From Mvo/Ntsimbi/Wamba there come out pictures'

In some cases the locative affix **e-/ini** may be used whilst the locative preposition **ku-** may also be used. This is the case with all deverbative nouns denoting human beings in all classes except Classes 1 and 2. Consider the following example sentences:

- (58) a. Abaphathi baya **ezicakeni/kwizicaka**
 'Managers go to the workers'
- b. **Kwizicaka/ezicakeni** kuya abaphathi
 'To the workers there go managers'

The two types of locatives can be used with all noun phrases where the noun is used with the modifier, e.g.:

- (59) a. Abantu bavela **edolophini/kwidolophu encinane**
 'People come from a small town'
- b. **Edolophini/kwidolophu encinane** kuvela abantu
 'From a small town come people'

All these locatives may appear in locative inversion as shown in all the (b) example sentences above.

(c) Old locative noun classes

Remnants of the status of old locative noun classes can still be found in Xhosa. Many of these nouns use a concord **ku-** with a possessive **-a-**, i.e. **kwa-** with a complement (du Plessis and Viser, 1992). Locative inversion can also take place with these locatives, as shown in the following examples:

- (60) a. Amasela achwechwa **emva kwendlu**
 'Thieves creep behind the hut'
- b. **Emva kwendlu** kuchwechwa amasela
 'Behind the hut there creep thieves'

Kude and **kufuphi** of Class 17, use **na-** with a complement instead of **kwa-**, e.g.:

- (61) a. Umntwana watyibilika **kufuphi neliwa**
 'The child slipped near the rock'
- b. **Kufuphi neliwa** kwatyibilika umntwana
 'Near the rock there slipped the child'

The possessive **kwa-** can also be used independent of its head to denote the place of somebody. This form of locative can also fit well in locative inversion.

- (62) a. Abafana baxhentsa **kwaTyhopho**
 'Young men dance at Tyhopho's place'
- b. **KwaTyhopho** kuxhentsa abafana
 'At Tyhopho's place there dance young men'

When the person is not the head of the household **kulo-** is used instead of **kwa-**. This form of locative also works well with the inversion.

- (63) a. Abayeni baya **kuloNozenza**
 'The bridegrooms go to Nozenza's home'
- b. **KuloNozenza** kuya abayeni
 'To Nozenza's home there go the bridegrooms'

The absolute pronoun **khona** of the locative classes is also used.

- (64) a. Abayeni baya **khona**
 'The bridegrooms go there'
- b. **Khona** kuya abayeni
 'To there, there go the bridegrooms'

The old demonstratives of locatives can also be used with locatives in the locative inversion.

- (65) a. Abayeni baya **apho emzini**
 'The bridegrooms go there to the kraal'
- b. **Apho emzini** kuya abayeni
 'There to the kraal there go bridegrooms'

(d) Place names

Place names can appear as locatives. Just like other nouns, they can take the affix **e-/ini**, the affix **e-** without **-ni** and the locative preposition **ku-**.

- (66) a. Abafundi bavela **eRhawutini**
 'The students came from Johannesburg'
- b. **ERhawutini** kuvela abafundi
 'From Johannesburg there came students'

Some place names take only the affix **e-** but not the affix **-ini**.

- (67) a. Abafundi bavela **eMaluti**
 'Students come from Maluti'
- b. **EMaluti** kuvela abafundi
 'From Maluti there come students'

The locative preposition **ku-** can be used with place names.

- (68) a. Abafundi bavela **kuTsolo**
 'Students come from Tsolo'
- b. **KuTsolo** kuvela abafundi
 'From Tsolo there come students'

These locatives from the place names can appear in locative inversion as shown in all the (b) sentences of (66) to (68).

3.2.2 Diagnostics for locative inversion

3.2.2.1 Subject agreement ku-

The locative can appear as the subject of the sentence in which case it can have the locative agreement **ku-**. Consider the following example:

- (69) [Esikolweni] [apho **kuya** abantwana] **kulungile**
 'At school where there go children is right'

In example sentence (69) **ku-** in **kuya** and **ku-** in **kulungile** are subjectival agreement.

3.2.2.2 Agreement in relative clauses

When the locative occurs as the head of the relative clause, **apho** has to be present. The pro, which is **ku-**, is found in the relative and this **ku-** agrees with the head.

- (70) [NP Esibhakabhakeni] [S apho **kuzolileyo**]
 'In the sky where it is quiet'

3.2.2.3 Interrogatives with a subject

(a) Non-locative subject

According to du Plessis and Visser (1992:355) there are quantifiers which are not allowed in the subject position of the clause, i.e. **mbi**, **phi** and **ni**, as shown in the next example:

- (71) *Wuphi umntwana usehostele?
 'Which child is in the hostel?'

These quantifiers do appear, however, in Xhosa in sentences with focus, especially if the copulative verb clause is followed by a relative, as in (72).

- (72) Sikolo siphi esilungileyo?
 'School, which is right?'

If the quantifier precedes the head, the sentence becomes ungrammatical.

- (73) *Siphi isikolo esilungileyo?
'Which school is right?'

The sentence in (73) can be corrected if the interrogative is in a copula form.

- (74) Sisiphi isikolo esilungileyo?
'Which is the right school?'

The following cases are unacceptable in Xhosa.

- (75) a. *Esiphi isikolo silungileyo?
'Which school right?'
b. *Sesiphi isikolo silungileyo?
'Which is the right school?'
c. *Isikolo sesiphi silungileyo?
'The school which right?'

The indefiniteness of **phi**, **mbi** and **ni** may reflect in the relative clause which appears as part of the NP. The relative clause may lose its definite **a-**.

- (76) a. Mntwana wuphi ufikayo?
'Which child is arriving?'
b. Sikolo siphi silungileyo?
'Which school is right?'

The non-appearance of the definite **a** with relatives as in (76) is only applicable if the quantifier appears without its initial vowel. If the quantifier appears before its head and the head appears with the initial vowel, the sentence becomes ungrammatical.

- (77) a. *Siphi isikolo silungileyo?
'Which school is right?'
b. *Wuphi umntwana ufikayo?
'Which child is arriving?'

(b) Locative subject

If the interrogative is to be used, the AgrS **ku-** should be prefixed to the interrogative which already appears with the preposition **ku-** (**ku** + **esiphi**).

- (78) a. Kukwesiphi isikolo apho kuya abantwana?
'In which school where there go children?'
b. Kukweliphi ikhaya apho kufika abantwana?
'In which home where there arrive children?'

If the additional **ku-** is left out, the sentence becomes ungrammatical

- (79) *Kwesiphi isikolo apho kuya abantwana?
'Which school there go children?'

If **apho** is omitted, even if the **ku-** which is missing in (79) can be prefixed, the sentence will be ungrammatical.

- (80) a. *Kukwesiphi isikolo kuya abantwana?
'In which school go children?'
b. *Kukweyiphi intaba kuqengqeleka amatye?
'In which mountain roll stones?'

3.2.2.4 Passive constructions

The morphological **-w-** de-externalises the subject argument on the structure of a sentence. When the passive affix **-w-** is added onto the verb, the subject position will be left empty and designated as pro (du Plessis and Visser, 1992).

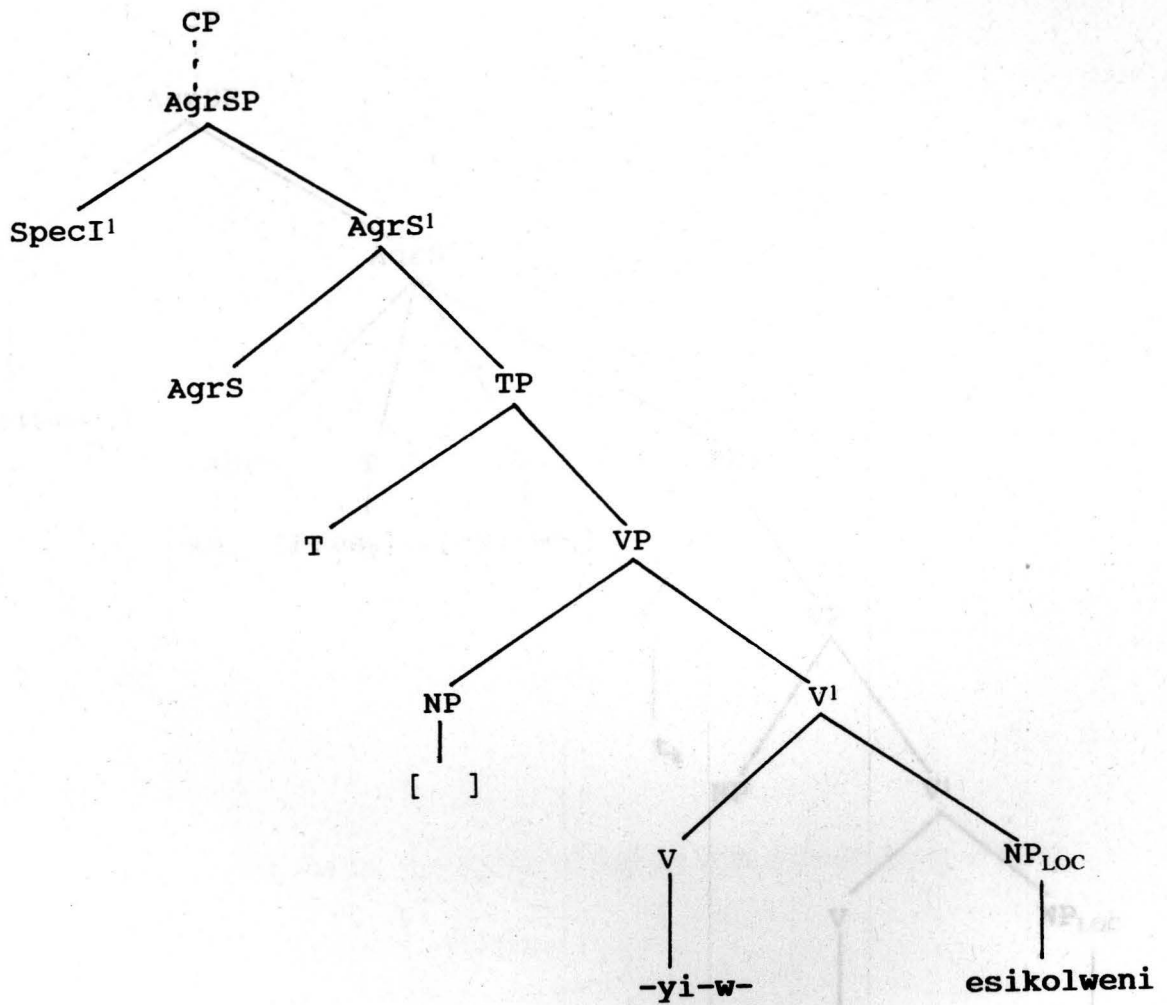
- (81) a. Abantwana baya **esikolweni**
'Children go to school'
b. **Esikolweni** kuyayiwa ngabantwana
'To school it is being gone by children'

The short form of the tense makes the sentence to be ungrammatical.

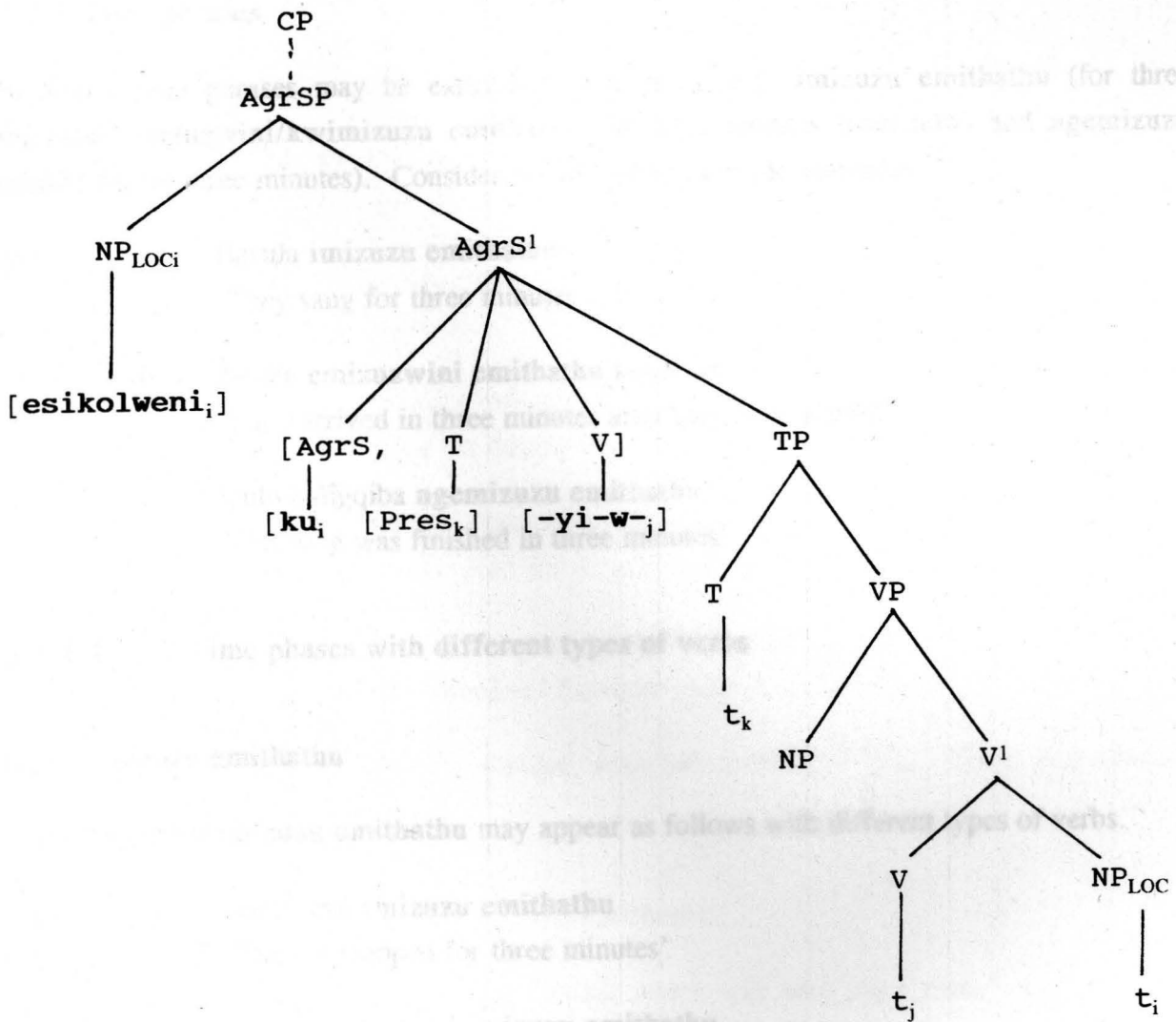
- (82) *Esikolweni kuyiwa ngabantwana
'To school is gone by children'

The passive constructions of the above sentences can appear as in the following structures:

(83) Deep structure



(84) Surface structure



The NP_{LOC} has been moved to the specifier position and it left a trace t_i behind. The tense has moved to AgrS to allow for case assignment. The verb *-yiwa* has been raised to AgrS to allow for inflection categories.

3.3 TIME CLAUSES OF DURATION

3.3.1 Time phrases

In Xhosa time phrases may be expressed in minutes, e.g. **imizuzu emithathu** (for three minutes) **emizuzwini/kwimizuzu emithathu** (in three minutes from now) and **ngemizuzu emithathu** (in three minutes). Consider the following example sentences:

- (85)
- a. Bacula **imizuzu emithathu**
'They sang for three minutes'
 - b. Bafika **emizuzwini emithathu** kuqaliwe
'They arrived in three minutes after they have started'
 - c. Iculo baligqiba **ngemizuzu emithathu**
'The song was finished in three minutes'

3.3.1.1 Time phases with different types of verbs

(a) Imizuzu emithathu

The time phrase **imizuzu emithathu** may appear as follows with different types of verbs.

- (86)
- a. Imoto ime **imizuzu emithathu**
'The car stopped for three minutes'
 - b. *Ilokhwe ikrazuke **imizuzu emithathu**
'The dress tore for three minutes'
 - c. Abafundi bavuya **imizuzu emithathu**
'The students rejoiced for three minutes'
 - d. Umoya wavuthuza **imizuzu emithathu**
'The wind blew for three minutes'
 - e. *Inkomo yabhitya **imizuzu emithathu**
'The cow becomes lean for three minutes'
 - f. Abaphathi basala **imizuzu emithathu**
'The managers remained behind for three minutes'

Sentences 86(b) and 86(e) are unacceptable in that to be torn is a sudden action and to become lean is a process which cannot be recognised within three minutes. By using locative phrases, the sentence in (86) can be as follows:

- (87)
- a. Imoto ime **imizuzu emithathu** erobhothini
'The car stopped for three minutes at the robot'
 - b. *Ilokhwe ikrazuke **imizuzu emithathu** ezingeni
'The dress tore for three minutes at the waist'
 - c. Abafundi bavuya **imizuzu emithathu** esikolweni
'The students rejoiced for three minutes at school'
 - d. Umoya wavuthuza **imizuzu emithathu** emasimini
'The wind blew for three minutes at the fields'
 - e. *Inkomo yabhitya **imizuzu emithathu** ebuhlanti
'The cow became lean for three minutes in the kraal'
 - f. Abaphathi basala **imizuzu emithathu** e-ofisini
'The managers remained for three minutes in the office'

Although locative phrases have been added, sentences 87(b) and 87(e) still are ungrammatical and therefore unacceptable.

(b) Emizuzwini emithathu/kwimizuzu emithathu

Emizuzwi emithathu may refer to an event which will take place three minutes from the specified time, i.e. three minutes from now. This **from now** needs some modification which will show this specified time. Consider the following example sentences:

- (88)
- a. Imoto yema **emizuzwini emithathu** sikrobile
'The car stopped in three minutes time after we have peeped'
 - b. Ilokhwe yakrazuka **emizuzwini emithathu** befikile
'The dress tore in three minutes time after they have arrived'
 - c. Abafundi bavuya **emizuzwini emithathu** inqununu ifikile
'The students rejoiced in three minutes time after the principal had come'
 - d. Umoya wavuthuza **emizuzwini emithathu** behambile
'The wind blew in three minutes time they had left'

- e. Inkomo zabhitya **emizuzwini emithathu** sifikile isifo
'The cows became lean in three minutes time after the disease had come'
- f. Abaphathi basala **emizuzwini emithathu** kugqityiwe
'The managers remained in three minutes time after completion'

If a locative is used in a sentence and the additional clause is left out, the sentence becomes ungrammatical, as shown in the next example sentences.

- (89)
- a. *Imoto yema emizuzwini emithatu erobhothini
'The car stopped in three minutes at the robot'
 - b. *Ilokwe yakrazuka emizuzwini emithathu esinqeni
'The dress tore in three minutes time at the waist'
 - c. *Abafundi bavuya emizuzwini emithatu esikolweni
'The students rejoiced in three minutes at school'
 - d. *Umoya wavuthuza emizuzwini emithathu emasimini
'The wind blew in three minutes in the field'
 - e. *Inkomo yabhitya emizuzwini emithathu esibayeni
'The cow became lean in three minutes at the kraal'
 - f. *Abaphathi basala emizuzwini emithathu e-ofisini
'The manager remained in three minutes in the office'

(c) Ngemizuzu emithathu

Ngemizuzu emithathu may mean the time it takes to get there. **Nga-** in **ngemizuzu** is a preposition and its complement is a noun which expresses time (du Plessis and Visser, 1992).

- (90)
- a. Abantwana bema **ngemizuzu emithathu**
'It took the children three minutes to stand/Children stood in three minutes'
 - b. *Ilokhwe yakrazuka **ngemizuzu emithathu**
'It took the dress three minutes to tear'
 - c. Abafundi bavuya **ngemizuzu emithathu**
'It took students three minutes to rejoice'

- d. Umoya wavuthuza ngemizuzu emithathu
'It took the wind three minutes to blow'
- e. *Inkomo yabhitya ngemizuzu emithathu
'It took the cow three minutes to become lean'
- f. Abaphathi basala ngemizuzu emithathu
'It took managers three minutes to remain'

Locative phrases may appear with the above sentences, as in the following sentences.

- (91) a. Abantwana bema ngemizuzu emithathu emigceni
'Children assembled in three minutes in the assembly'
- b. *Ilokhwe yakrazuka ngemizuzu emithathu esinqeni
'The dress tore in three minutes at the waist'
- c. Abafundi bavuya ngemizuzu emithathu esikolweni
'The students rejoiced in three minutes at school'
- d. Umoya wavuthuza ngemizuzu emithathu emasimini
'The wind blew in three minutes in the fields'
- e. Inkomo yabhitya ngemizuzu emithathu ebuhlanti
'The cow became lean in three minutes in the kraal'
- f. Abaphathi basala ngemizuzu emithathu e-ofisini
'The managers remained in three minutes in the office'

3.3.1.2 Use of time phrases with motion verbs

Time phrases may be used with the motion verb as follows:

(a) Imizuzu emithathu

- (92) a. *Bafika imizuzu emithathu
'They arrived for three minutes'
- b. Yaqengqeleka imizuzu emithathu
'It rolled for three minutes'

- c. Bahamba **imizuzu emithathu**
 'They walked for three minutes'

Sentence 92(a) is unacceptable; one cannot keep on arriving for three minutes. If he arrives, it is usually at that specific time. With the motion verb of the arrive class the verbs which show the achievement of motion like 92(a) may not take the **imizuzu emithathu** time phrase.

- (93) a. *Uloliwe wanduluka **imizuzu emithathu**
 'The train departed for three minutes'
- b. *Inkwenkwe yawa **imizuzu emithathu** emithini
 'The boy fell for three minutes from the tree'

The sentences in 92(b) and (c) can also appear with locatives:

- (94) a. Ibhasi yaqengqeleka **imizuzu emithathu** ethambekeni
 'The bus rolled for three minutes on the side of the mountain'
- b. Bahamba **imizuzu emithathu** kwelo thafa
 'They walked for three minutes on that plateau'

From the arrive class there are motion verbs which show a specific direction and these verbs have an inherent specified path. If the above time phrase is used with this group of verbs, the sentences may be acceptable.

- (95) a. Amadoda ehla **imizuzu emithathu** entabeni
 'The men descended for three minutes from the mountain'
- b. Inkwenkwe inyuka **imizuzu emithathu** emthini
 'The boy climbs up for three minutes in the tree'
- c. Umkhosi wasondela kubo **imizuzu emithathu**
 'The army moved closer to them for three minutes'

(b) **Emizuzwini emithathu/kwimizuzu emithathu**

This time phrase refers to a specific time from a specified time. With motion verbs this time phrase may be used as in the following example sentences:

- (96) a. Imoto yafika **emizuzwini emithathu**
 'The car arrived in three minutes'

- b. ?Ibhasi yaqengqeleka **emizuzwini emithathu**
'The bus rolled in three minutes'
- c. ?Iimbaleki zabaleka **emizuzwini emithathu**
'The athletes ran in three minutes'

The sentences of 96(b) and (c) are so ambiguous they need some clauses which will make them to be complete.

- (97) a. Imoto yafika **emizuzwini emithathu** silindile
'The car arrived in three minutes time for which we were waiting'
- b. Ibhasi yaqengqeleka **emizuzwini emithathu** isukile
'The bus rolled in three minutes time after its departure'
- c. Iimbaleki zabaleka **emizuzwini emithathu** kuqaliwe
'The athletes ran in three minutes time after the starting time'

The following sentences are ungrammatical and therefore unacceptable in Xhosa:

- (98) a. *Ibhasi yaqengqeleka **emizuzwini emithathu** ethambekeni
'The bus rolled in three minutes on the side of the mountain'
- b. *Iimbaleki zabaleka **emizuzwini emithathu** ebaleni
'The athletes ran in three minutes in the field'

In order to be grammatical the run class verb needs another verb which shows a direction and sentence 98(b) can therefore be as follows:

- (99) a. Iimbaleki zabaleka emizuzwini emithathu **ukuya** ebaleni
'The athletes ran in three minutes to get to the field'
- b. Iimbaleki zabaleka emizuzwini emithathu **ukusinga** ekhaya
'The athletes ran in three minutes to the home'

The roll class too needs another verb which shows a direction. Sentence 98(a) can therefore read as follows:

- (100) a. Ibhasi yaqengqeleka emizuzwini emithathu **ukuya** ezantsi
'The bus rolled in three minutes to the bottom of the hill'
- b. Ibhasi yaqengqeleka emizuzwini emithathu **ukusinga** emaweni
'The bus rolled in three minutes time to the rocks'

(c) **Ngemizuzu emithathu**

As said earlier this time phrase may mean time which will be taken to get there. This time phrase may be used with the different classes of motion verbs.

- (101) a. (i) **Bafika ngemizuzu emithathu**
 'It took them three minutes to arrive/they arrived in three minutes'
- (ii) **Amakhwenkwe enyuka ngemizuzu emithathu**
 'Boys climb up in three minutes'
- b. **?Ibhasi yaqengqeleka ngemizuzu emithathu**
 'The bus rolled in three minutes'
- c. **?Amakhwenkwe abaleka ngemizuzu emithathu**
 'The boys ran in three minutes'

The Inherent Directional Motion (IDM) has no problem in appearing with the time phrase **ngemizuzu emithathu** because the direction is within them as shown in 101(a)(i) and (ii). With the [+DEC] and [-DEC], however, the sentences are ambiguous and the direction should be added to the sentences in order to build more sense.

- (102) a. **Ibhasi yaqengqeleka ngemizuzu emithathu ukuya ezantsi**
 'The bus rolled in three minutes to the bottom of the hill'
- b. **Amakhwenkwe abaleke ngemizuzu emithathu ukuya edlelweni**
 'The boys ran in three minutes to the veld'

The locative can still be used with the arrive class. The sentences in 101(a)(i) and (ii) can now appear as follows:

- (103) a. **Bafika ngemizuzu emithathu esikolweni**
 'It took them three minutes to get to school'
- b. **Amakhwenkwe enyuka ngemizuzu emithathu eqhineni**
 'It took boys three minutes to climb up the steep'

In some cases **imizuzu**, as in **nga + imizuzu**, may be in the diminutive form, as shown in the next examples:

- (104) a. **Bafika ngemizuzwana emithathu esikolweni**
 'They arrived in three little minutes at school'

- b. Amakhwenkwe enyuka **ngemizuzwana emithathu** eqhineni
'The boys climbed in three little minutes up the steep'

3.3.2 Time clauses

Time clauses can be found with the different classes of motion verbs like arrive class, roll class and run class.

(a) Arrive class

The arrive class can appear as follows with time clauses:

- (105) a. *Wafika **lonke ixesha/ngalo lonke ixesha** sibukele
'He arrived the whole time that we were watching'
- b. *Wafika **imini yonke** sigadile
'He arrived the whole day that we were watching'
- c. Wayefika **yonke imihla** esinokuyikhumbula
'He was arriving everyday that we can remember'
- d. Wayefika **imini nganye** sikhona
'He was arriving each day that we were there'
- (106) a. Wenyuka **ixesha lonke/lonke ixesha** simbukele
'He climbed the whole of the time that we watched'
- b. Wenyuka **imini yonke** simjongile
'He climbed the whole day that we were watching him'
- c. Wayenyuka **yonke imihla** egadiwe
'He was climbing everyday that they watched'
- d. Wayenyuka **imini nganye** simbukele
'He was climbing everyday that we watched him'

Sentences 105(a) and (b) are unacceptable because an individual does not take the whole time and the whole day arriving.

(b) Roll class

The roll class can appear with time clauses as follows:

- (107) a. **Watyibilika ixesha lonke/lonke ixesha sibukele**
 'He slipped the whole time that we watched'
- b. **Watyibilika imini yonke simnqanda**
 'He slipped the whole day that we were watching him'
- c. **Watyibilika imini yonke ebukelwe**
 'He slipped the whole day that they watched'
- d. **Watyibilika imini nganye ebukelwe**
 'He slipped each day that they watched'

The roll class works well with the time clause.

(c) Run class

The run class too, can appear with the time clauses.

- (108) a. **Wabaleka lonke ixesha ebukelwe**
 'He ran the whole time that he was watched'
- b. **Wabaleka imini yonke simgadile**
 'He ran the whole day that we were watching'
- c. **Wabaleka yonke imihla sibukele**
 'He ran everyday that we watched'
- d. **Wabaleka imini nganye sibukele**
 'He ran each day that we watched'

3.4 COMMANDS AND REQUESTS

3.4.1 Commands

In Xhosa the imperative mood is usually used in order to express commands. Compare the following:

- (109)
- a. Fika!
'Arrive!'
 - b. Tyibilika!
'Slip'
 - c. Baleka!
'Run!'

In the sentences of (109) the command has been formed through the imperative, with which the stem of a verb is used. The imperative may also be formed by prefixing the object clitic to the stem of the verb, if the command is referring to more than one person, **-ni** can be suffixed on the verb.

- (110) **Ndancedeni**
'Help me'

The three classes of motion verbs can appear as follows with this type of the imperative:

- (111)
- a. *Sifikeni
'Arrive us'
 - b. *Lutyibilikeni
'Slip it'
 - c. Yibalekeni
'Run away from it'

The imperatives in 111(a) and (b) are unacceptable because these two verbs are intransitive. They cannot appear with the object and therefore also not with the object clitic.

The negative command form may be used by putting **musa** or **musani** before the infinitive, as in the following examples:

- (112) a. Musa ukufika
'Do not arrive'
- b. Musa ukutyibilika
'Do not slip'
- c. Musa ukubaleka
'Do not run'

Suku may also be used to show the negative command by preceding the stem of the verb.

- (113) a. Sukufika
'Do not arrive'
- b. Sukutyibilika
'Do not slip'
- c. Sukubaleka
'Do not run'

The negative form of command may be expressed through the negative form of the subjunctive mood.

- (114) a. Ungafiki
'Do not arrive'
- b. Ungatyibiliki
'Do not slip'
- c. Ungabaleki
'Do not run'

3.4.2 Requests

Requests in Xhosa can be expressed through the use of deficient verbs followed by the subjunctive mood:

- (115) a. Mabafike
'They should arrive'
- b. Zenifike
'You should arrive/come'

- c. Khanifike
'You should arrive/come/ please arrive'
 - d. Nibofika
'You should arrive/come'
 - e. Maze nifike
'You should please come/arrive'
 - g. Makhe nifike
'Please come/arrive'
- (116)
- a. Mabatyibilike
'They should slip'
 - b. Zenityibilike
'You should slip'
 - c. Khanityibilike
'Please slip'
 - d. Nibotyibilika
'You should slip'
 - e. Maze nityibilike
'You should please slip'
 - f. Makhe nityibilike
'Please slip'
- (117)
- a. Mabahambe
'They should go'
 - b. Zenihambe
'You should go'
 - c. Khanihambe
'Please go'
 - d. Nibohamba
'You should go'

e. Maze nihambe
'You should please go'

f. Makhe nihambe
'Please go'

The negative form of the above requests can be formed by the negative formative **-nga-** as in the following sentences:

- (118) a. Mabangahambi
'They should not go'
- b. Zeningahambi
'You should not go'
- c. Khanike ningahambi
'You should please not go'
- d. Ningabohamba
'You should not go'
- e. Maze ningahambi
'You should please not go'
- f. Makhe ningahambi
'Please do not go'

3.5 CONCLUSION

With regard to the information obtained in this section, the following conclusions can be formulated:

The locative argument can be a locative with the morpheme **e-/ini**.

- (119) Ndiya **esikolweni**
'I go to school'

The locative morpheme **e-** may not be accompanied by **-ni**.

- (120) Ndiya eMaluti
'I go to Maluti'

The locative argument may be a locative prepositional phrase.

- (121) Bavela kuTsolo
'They come from Tsolo'

The old locative nouns of Classes 16, 17 and 18 can appear as locative arguments.

- (122) a. Wehla **phezulu**
'He descends from above'
- b. Bajika **kude**
'They return from far'

Locative complements have theta roles because they have a status of an argument. A locative argument which is [+animate] or [-animate] may have an interpretation of **location**.

- (123) Uloliwe wafika esikhululweni
'The train arrived at the station'

The interpretation may be **direction**.

- (124) Ndiya esikolweni
'I go to school'

The reading may be **source**.

- (125) Bavela kutitshala
'They come from the teacher'

The interpretation may be **cause**. It was discovered that the **-i-** causative and **-k-** anti-causative have an influence in this reading.

- (126) a. Umoya uphephula amaphepha
Cause Theme
'The wind blows away papers'
- b. Amaphepha aphephuka emoyeni
Theme Cause
'Papers are blown away in wind'

It was also established that some motion verbs have an inherent location meaning.

- (127) Bayagoduka
'They go home'

Locative inversion can be found with motion verbs.

- (128) a. Abantwana bafika **ekhaya**
'Children arrive at home'
- b. **Ekhaya** kufika abantwana
'At home there arrive children'

When the locative appears as a subject of a sentence it can have a locative agreement.

- (129) [Esikolweni] [apho kuya abantwana] kulungile

Time phrases may be expressed in minutes.

- (130) a. Baxhentsa **imizuzu emithathu**
'They danced for three minutes'
- b. Bafika **emizuzwini emithathu**
'They arrived in three minutes'
- c. Balugqiba ugqatso **ngemizuzu emithathu**
'They finished the race in three minutes'

Certain time clauses cannot appear with some motion verbs; if they do, such sentences would be ungrammatical, as shown in the next examples:

- (131) a. *Wafika **ngalo lonke ixesha**
'He arrived the whole time'
- b. *Wafika **imini yonge**
'He arrived the whole day'

The imperative mood is used to express commands.

- (132) a. Fika (arrive)
- b. Fikani (arrive)

The negative form is formed by **musa** or **musani** followed by the infinitive.

- (133) a. **Musa** ukufika
 'Do not arrive'
- b. **Musani** ukufika
 'Do not arrive'

The negative mood can also be expressed by **suka**.

- (134) **Sukufika**
 'Do not arrive'

The negative of the subjunctive mood may also show the negative form of a command.

- (135) **Ungafiki**
 'Do not arrive'

Requests are expressed by the use of deficient verbs followed by the subjunctive mood.

- (136) **Mabafike**
 'They should please arrive'

The negative formative **nga-** can be used to create the negative form.

- (137) **Mabangafiki**
 'They should not arrive'

SECTION 4

4. DERIVATIONAL AFFIXES

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Derivational affixes which can be affixed to the motion verbs will be considered in this section. The effect of the applicative affix on the motion verb and the interpretation of the internal argument of this form of a verb will be discussed. The effect of causativization to the motion verbs and the semantic reading of the new external argument will be looked at, while attention will be given to the [+DEC] verbs concerning these interpretations. The appearance of the reflexive *-zi-* with motion verbs will be dealt with and this will involve the aid of other derivational affixes. How the motion verb can appear with the reciprocal affix and the semantic readings that can be found, will also be looked into. Similarly, how the passive and neutro-passive can appear with motion verbs and the readings associated with the arguments when the passive affix *-w-* and the neutro-passive affix *-ek-* have been affixed to the motion verb, will also be dealt with.

4.2 THE APPLICATIVE

The applicative is a form of a verb which is derived at through the affixation of the applicative affix *-el-*. It allows the internal argument of the predicate to be increased by one argument. When this affix is added to intransitive verbs, these verbs change into transitive verbs. Consider the following example sentences:

- (1)
 - a. Indoda iyabuya
'The man is returning'
 - b. Indoda ibuyela inkosi
'The man is returning for the king'

The verb in sentence 1(a) is an intransitive verb without an internal argument. In sentence 1(b), however, the same predicate has an internal argument because of the applicative affix *-el-* which has been affixed to it.

4.2.1 The applicative with motion verbs

As mentioned earlier in sub-section 2.2.1, motion verbs are grouped into three classes. These classes differ in semantic features and the affixation of the applicative affix **-el-** will therefore have different effects on them.

4.2.2 Arrive class with applicative affix **-el-**

The arrive class has locative complements which have theta roles and are therefore considered as internal arguments but not as objects of the sentence.

- (2) Intombi ivela ehlathini
 ‘The girl comes from the forest’

The effect of the affix **-el-** on the predicate argument structure of the intransitive verb is to change this type of verb into a transitive verb. When affixed with the applicative affix **-el-** the arrive class will have an object.

- (3) a. UNolwazi uya esikolweni
 ‘Nolwazi goes to school’

 b. UNolwazi uyela utitshala esikolweni
 ‘Nolwazi goes from the teacher to school’

The object in sentence 3(b) is **utitshala** which should be adjacent to the verb with the affix **-el-**. This object as well as the locative will have a semantic role. According to du Plessis and Visser (1992:55) the locative complement which is used in conjunction with an applied verb may have four different semantic role, i.e. direction, location, recipient and implicit contrast or exclusive location. They further state that the interpretation of source as a semantic role with the applicative verb is not possible but is replaced by the semantic role of direction.

(a) [+A, +A]

When the object as well as the locative is animate with the arrive class, the following interpretations may be formed.

(i) Benefactive + direction

- (4) a. Intombazana iyela umntwana kunina
 ‘The girl goes for the child to the mother’

- b. Abazali bezela abantwana kwinqununu
'The parents come for children to the principal' the great place'

In the above sentences the object is animate and the semantic interpretation is benefactive. The locative is also animate but with the role of direction.

(ii) Cause + direction

- (5) a. Umfazi ubuyela abantwana endodeni
'The woman returns because of children to man'
b. Intombi ibuyela usana kunina
'The girl returns because of the baby to the mother'

In the sentences in (5) the objects are animate and have a semantic reading of cause, but a semantic interpretation of direction.

(iii) Purpose + direction

- (6) a. Umqeqeshi ufikela iimbaleki kutitshala
'The trainer arrives for the purpose/sake of athletes to the teacher'
b. Umongikazi ufikela usana kunina
'The nurse arrives for the purpose/sake of the child to the mother'

The objects in the above sentences in (6) are animate and their semantic reading is purpose. The locatives are also animate and their semantic role is direction. The verbs of motion in sentences (4) to (6) assign the semantic role of direction to the locatives because these locatives are [+animate].

(b) [+A, -A]

Verbs in the arrive class may have an object which is [+animate] and a locative which may be [-animate]. The following semantic roles can be found with these arguments.

(i) Benefactive + direction/exclusive direction

- (7) a. Abantwana bayela unina emthonjeni
'Children go for the mother to the river/only to the river'

b. Indoda izela unyana komkhulu

'The man comes on behalf of the son to/only to the great place'

In the above sentences the objects which are [+animate] have a benefactive role while the locatives are [-animate] with a semantic reading of direction or exclusive direction.

(ii) Cause + direction/exclusive direction

(8) a. Umfazi ubuyela abantwana ekhaya

'The woman returns because of the children to/only to the home'

b. Ubhuti uzela umninawa emgidini

'The brother comes because of his younger brother to/only to the feast'

(iii) Cause + source/exclusive source

(9) a. Abantu bamkela abaqhekezi kule bali

'People leave because of house breakers from/only from this location'

b. Abasebenzi bamkela amasela kule fama

'The workers leave because of thieves from/only from this location'

In the sentences in (9) the objects are [+animate] and their semantic interpretation is cause, the locatives are [-animate] and their semantic interpretation is source/exclusive source.

(iv) Purpose + exclusive location

(10) a. Ummangali ufikela igqwetha e-ofisini

'The complainant arrives for the sake of the lawyer only in the office'

b. Abahloli bafikela inqununu esikolweni

'The inspectors arrive for the sake of the principal only at school'

In the sentences in (10) the objects are [+animate] and their semantic reading is purpose. The locatives are [-animate] and their semantic interpretation is exclusive location.

(c) [-A, +A]

The objects of these verbs may be [-animate] and the locatives [+animate]. The interpretations of these arguments may be as follows:

(i) Purpose + direction

- (11) a. Umfazi uyela imali endodeni
 'The woman goes for the purpose of money to the man'
- b. Umfundi uzela izifundo kutitshala
 'The student goes for the purpose of lessons to the teacher'

The objects are [-animate] and their semantic role therefore cannot be benefactive as in example (4) above. It would be benefactive if these objects were [+animate]. The locatives which are [+animate] in example (11) have a reading of direction.

(ii) Cause + direction

- (12) a. Umfundi ubuyela imali kuyise
 'The student returns because of money to his father'
- b. Abantwana bazela ukutya enkosini
 'The children come because of food to the chief'

In example (12) the objects are [-animate] and their semantic interpretation is cause. The locatives are [+animate] and their semantic reading is direction.

(iii) Cause + source

- (13) a. Umfazi umkela impathekombi endodeni
 'The woman leaves because of ill-treatment from the man'
- b. Amaphakathi afudukela indlala enkosini
 'The councillors leave because of starvation from the chief'

The objects in (13) above are [-animate] and their reading is cause. The locatives are [+animate] and their semantic interpretation is source.

(d) [-A, -A]

The internal argument which can be found with the applicative form of a motion verb may be both [-animate]. The following interpretations may be found with these arguments:

(i) Purpose + exclusive location

- (14) a. Umfazi uyela amanzi emthonjeni
 'The woman goes for the purpose of water only in the river'
- b. Umhambi ungenela ukutya etafileni
 'The visitors get in for the purpose of food only to the table'

The objects in (14) are interpreted as purpose because they are [-animate] and the locatives are interpreted as exclusive location.

(ii) Cause + exclusive location

- (15) a. Umfundi ubuyela imali esikolweni
 'The student returns because of money only at school'
- b. Umfazi umkela impathekombi emzini
 'The woman leaves because of ill-treatment at the inlaws'

The locatives in (15) above have a reading of exclusive location and the objects have a reading of cause.

(iii) Purpose + direction

- (16) a. Uzela ibhasi esikhululweni
 'He comes for the purpose of bus at the station'
- b. Uyela imali ebhankini
 'He goes for the purpose of money to the bank'

The reading of direction may be found with locatives which are [+animate] or with those which are [-animate] as in (16) above. The objects in the sentences in (16) are [-animate] and their reading is purpose.

(e) Reduplication form of the affix -el-

When the application affix -el- is reduplicated in a verb, it results into three arguments, i.e. two objects and a locative because -elel- changes the intransitive verb into a ditransitive verb.

- (17) a. *Ndiyelela umntwana ubisi kunina
 'I go for the milk child from the mother'

- b. *Bafikelela ibhasi abafundi esikhumulweni
 'They arrive for the bus students at the station'

The affixation of **-elel-** does not work with the arrive class of motion verbs. All sentences in (17) are ungrammatical and therefore unacceptable in Xhosa.

(f) Interrogatives **ni** and **ntoni**

The interrogatives **ni** or **ntoni** may be used with the applicative affix and this interrogative may raise the interpretation of cause.

- (18) a. Intombazana iyelani kunina?
 'Why is the girl going to the mother?'
 b. Umfundi uyibuyelelani imali esikolweni?
 'Why is the student returning for money from school?'

Sentence 18(a) has the reading of cause + direction, while sentence 18(b) has three arguments because of **-elel-** and the reading is therefore cause + purpose + source. The reduplication which was not possible with sentences in (17) has been possible with 18(b) because of the appearance of the interrogative **ni** with this verb.

4.2.3 Roll class verbs with applicative affix **-el-**

Roll class verbs are intransitive verbs. If the applicative affix **-el-** is added to the intransitive verb it changes into a transitive verb which will then have an external as well as an internal argument. When affixed the applicative affix **-el-** the verbs of roll class may have an object which is [+animate] or [-animate]. The internal argument may, or may not be a locative, i.e. [+locative] or [-locative].

(a) [+animate, -locative]

The [+animate, -locative] internal argument gives the interpretation of direction.

- (19) a. Ndiyibilikela abantwana
 'I slip to children'
 b. Ndiqengqelekela usana
 'I roll to the baby'

(b) [+animate, +locative]

The semantic reading of exclusive direction is found with the internal argument of [+animate, +locative].

- (20) a. Abantwana batyibilikela ebantwini
 'The children slip only to people'
 b. Ibhola iqengqelekela elusaneni
 'The ball rolls only to the baby'

(c) [-animate, -location]

When the internal argument is [-animate, -location] the semantic role which is usually found is that of direction.

- (21) a. Ndityibilikela udaka
 'I slip to the mud'
 b. Ndiqengqelekela imbawula
 'I roll to the heater'

(d) [-animate, +locative]

When the internal argument is [-animate, +locative] the semantic role is usually that of direction.

- (22) a. Umntwana utyibilikela eludakeni
 'The child slips into the mud'
 b. Ibhola iqengqelekela embawuleni
 'The ball rolls to the heater'

(e) Reduplicated form of the applicative affix -el-

The reduplication of the applicative affix -el- with roll class verbs is not possible. It results into ungrammatical sentences.

- (23) a. *Ndityibilikelela abantwana ebhedini
 'I slip children on the bed'

- b. *Ibhola iqengqekelelela elusaneni
'The ball rolls onto the baby'

(f) Interrogatives

Interrogatives may be used with the applicative form of verbs of roll class. The following semantic readings may be found:

(i) Cause + exclusive location

- (24) a. Utyibilikelani eludakeni?
'Why do you slip on the mud?'
b. Uqengqekekelani embawuleni?
'Why do you roll onto the heater?'

(ii) Cause + direction

If the applicative affix is reduplicated the reading may be [cause + direction].

- (25) a. Utyibilikelelani elusaneni?
'Why do you slip to the child?'
b. Uqengqekelelani embawuleni?
'Why do you roll to the heater?'

4.2.4 Run class with applicative affix -el-

Verbs of the run class are intransitive. If the applicative affix -el- is added to the run class verbs they change into transitive verbs, just like the roll class verbs. This change makes them to have both the external and internal argument. The internal argument may be [+animate] or [-animate] and it may or may not be a locative.

(a) [+animate, -locative]

The [+animate, -locative] internal argument which has been added because of the applicative affix -el- may give the semantic reading of benefactive. This benefactive reading may be interpreted in three different ways, i.e. benefit, substitution and malefactive.

- (26) Uhambela inkosi
'He goes for the chief'

Sentence (26) may mean that he is going for the benefit of the chief. This sentence may also mean that he is going on behalf or instead of the chief. Finally, the meaning of the same sentence may be that he is going with the aim of making trouble to the chief.

(b) [+animate, +locative]

The locative complement of the applicative form of a verb may be [+animate] and it may have a reading of direction.

- (27) a. Uhambela enkosini
'He goes to the chief'
- b. Ubalekela ezititshaleni
'He runs to the teachers'

If the locatives are used with **nga-**, the arguments in (27) above may have an interpretation of location as in the following example.

- (28) a. Uhambela ngasenkosini
'He walks near the chief'
- b. Ubalekela ngasezititshaleni
'He runs near the teachers'

With the locative argument of [+animate] the reading may also be that of source, as in (29).

- (29) a. Wahambela enkosini
'He left from the chief'
- b. Wahambela emapoliseni
'He left from the police'

(c) [-animate, -locative]

If the internal argument of the applicative form of a verb is [-animate, -locative] the reading may be that of purpose.

- (30) a. Uhambela imali
'He goes for the purpose of money'

- b. Ubalekela indebe
'He runs for the purpose of a trophy'

The reading of the semantic role of the [-animate, -locative] argument may also be benefactive. In this case the [-animate, -locative] internal argument should have a feature of [+human control].

- (31) a. Uhambela icawa
'He goes for the church'
- b. Ubalekela isikolo
'He runs for the school'

The semantic role of the above internal arguments is benefactive and this may be interpreted in three ways as discussed in 4.2.2 earlier.

In some cases the [-animate, -locative] internal argument may have a semantic reading of cause, as in the following example:

- (32) a. Uhambela impathekombi
'He goes because of ill-treatment'
- b. Ubhacela indlala
'He goes away because of starvation'

(d) [-animate, +locative]

The locative complement of the verb may be [-animate] and the semantic role assigned by this applicative verb may be that of location.

- (33) a. Imoto yahambela endleleni
'The car was repaired and could be able to move on the road/on the spot'
- b. Umntwana utsibela ebhedini
'The child jumps on the bed'

The [-animate] locative may also give a reading of source.

- (34) a. Wahambela esikhululweni
'He left from the station'

- b. Bahambela esikolweni
'They left from school'

Not all [-animate] locatives can be interpreted as location, some may result into unacceptable sentences, as in the following examples.

- (35) a. *Uhambela emalini
'He walks to the money'
b. *Ubalekela endebeeni
'He runs on the trophy'

With an internal argument of [-animate, +locative] a reading of direction may be found.

- (36) a. Bacothela ebuhlanti
'They walk slowly to the kraal'
b. Babalekela esikolweni
'They run to school'

(e) Interrogative **ni**

The interrogative NP **ni** can be found with the run class applicative form of a verb. Both the affixes **-el-** and **-elel-** may be used with the verb. If the interrogative **ni** is affixed to the verb with the affix **-el-** the reading may be [cause + location].

- (37) Ubalekelani esikolweni?
'Why do you run at school?'

If the interrogative **ni** is affixed to the verb with the affix **-elel-** the reading may be [cause + direction].

- (38) Ubalekelelani esikolweni?
'Why do you run to school?'

TABLE I

ARRIVE CLASS		BENEFACT.	DIRECT.	PURPOSE	CAUSE	LOCAT.	EXCLUS. LOCAT.	EXCLUS. DIREC.	EXCLUS. SOURCE.	SOURCE
yela	+NP(A)+ LOC(A)	+	+							
buyela	+NP(A)+ LOC(A)		+		+					
fikela	+NP(A)+ LOC(A)		+	+						
yela	+NP(A)+ LOC(-A)	+	+							
mkela	+NP(A)+ LOC(-A)				+				+	+
buyela	+NP(A)+ LOC(-A)		+		+			+		
fikela	+NP(A)+ LOC(-A)			+			+			
yela	+NP(-A)+ LOC(A)		+	+						
buyela	+NP(-A)+ LOC(A)		+		+					
mkela	+NP(-A)+ LOC(A)				+					
fikela	+NP(-A)+ LOC(A)		+	+						+

ARRIVE CLASS		BENEFACT.	DIRECT.	PURPOSE	CAUSE	LOCAT.	EXCLUS. LOCAT.	EXCLUS. DIREC.	EXCLUS. SOURCE.	SOURCE
yela	+NP(-A)+ LOC(-A)			+			+			
buyela	+NP(-A)+ LOC(-A)				+		+			
zela	+NP(-A)+ LOC(-A)		+	+						
ROLL CLASS		BENEFACT.	DIRECT.	PURPOSE	CAUSE	LOCAT.	EXCLUS. LOCAT.	EXCLUS. DIREC.	EXCLUS. SOURCE.	SOURCE
tyibilikela	+NP(A) +LOC(A)		+						+	
tyibilikela	+NP(-A) +LOC(-A)		+							
			+							
RUN CLASS		BENEFACT.	DIRECT.	PURPOSE	CAUSE	LOCAT.	EXCLUS. LOCAT.	EXCLUS. DIREC.	EXCLUS. SOURCE.	SOURCE
hambela	+NP(A) +LOC(A)	+	+			+				+
hambela	+NP(-A) +LOC(-A)	+	+	+	+	+				+

4.2.5 SUMMARY

The facts accumulated in this section can be summarized as follows:

Arrive class

(a) [V NP (+A) LOC (+A)]

The NP may be interpreted as benefactive, cause and purpose while the locative phrase may only be interpreted as direction.

(b) [V NP (+A) LOC (-A)]

The [+animate] NP may have a semantic role of benefactive, cause and purpose and the [-animate] locative may have an interpretation of direction, source, exclusive source, exclusive direction and exclusive location.

(c) [V NP (-A) LOC (+A)]

The NP may have a reading of purpose and cause, and the locative may be interpreted as direction or source.

(d) [V NP (-A) LOC (-A)]

The [-animate] NP may have a semantic role of purpose and cause, whilst the locative which is also [-animate] may be interpreted as exclusive location and direction.

(e) Ininterrogative ni

The arrive class verbs with interrogative **ni** and the NP which may be [+animate] or [-animate] as well as the locative which may be [+animate] or [-animate] may be interpreted as cause for the NP. In the case of **-elel-** the purpose for the second NP, the locatives may be direction and source.

Roll class**(a) [V NP (+A)] and [V LOC (+A)]**

The NP which is [+animate] may be interpreted as direction and the locative form of the same NP may be interpreted as exclusive direction.

(b) [V NP (-A)] and [V LOC (-A)]

The NP as well as the locative which are both [-animate] may be interpreted as direction.

(c) The interrogative ni

The roll class verbs with interrogative **ni** and the NPs which may be [+animate] or [-animate] as well as the locative which may be [+animate] or [-animate], may be interpreted as follows: The NPs have a semantic role of cause and the locatives have a semantic role of exclusive location and direction.

Run class**(a) [V NP (+A)] and [V LOC (+A)]**

The NP which is [+animate] may have a semantic reading of benefactive and the locative which is also [+animate] may have a semantic reading of direction, location and source.

(b) [V NP (-A)] and [V LOC (-A)]

The [-animate] NP may have a semantic reading of benefactive, purpose and cause. The locative which is [-animate] may be interpreted as direction, location and source.

(c) Interrogative ni

The run class verbs with interrogative **ni** and the NPs which may be [+animate] or [-animate] as well as the locatives which may be [+animate] or [-animate] may have a reading of cause with the NP and a reading of location and direction with the locative.

4.3 CAUSATIVE AFFIX -IS-

In the derivation of verbs, the causative affix **-is-** can be used. The effect of the process of causativization on the predicate argument structure of a verb is to introduce a special argument which is the causative agent (du Plessis and Visser, 1992).

4.3.1 Motion verbs with causative affix -is-

The effect of the affix **-is-** on the predicate argument structure of predicates which are intransitive is to add a new external argument as a subject of a sentence and to change the old external argument into an internal argument. This addition of a new external argument and the changing of the old external argument into an internal argument results into the changing of the intransitive verb into a transitive verb. Consider the following examples:

- (39)
- a. Ndifikisa umntwana
'I cause the child to arrive'
 - b. Uqengqelekisa ibhola
'He causes the ball to roll'
 - c. Ubalekisa amahashe
'He causes the horses to run'

The external argument which is the subject of the sentence causes the action and is the causative agent. This external argument does not need to be [+animate], and it can be interpreted with different semantic roles. The condition of the external argument is that it causes the action or state.

(a) Permissive agent

The agent which is introduced by the affix **-is-** may be interpreted as a permissive agent. The subject which is interpreted as a permissive agent permits or allows the action to happen.

- (40)
- a. ULizo uwisa ilitye
'Lizo let the stone fall'
 - b. UXola uqengqelekisa ibhola
'Xola let the ball roll'

- c. Utitshala ubalekisa abantwana
'The teacher let the students run'

The external arguments in (40) allowed the action specified by the predicates to happen.

(b) Assistive agent

In some cases the agent introduced by the affix *-is-* may be interpreted as assistive agent and this agent assists or helps in the action.

- (41) a. Unoposi uzisa iposi
'The post-man helps to bring the letter'
- b. Umoya uphephethekisa inkunkuma
'The wind helps to blow away dirt'
- c. Umongikazi ucothozisa isigulane
'The nurse helps to make walk slowly the patient'

(c) Causative agent

The causative agent causes the action, as shown in the next examples in (42).

- (42) a. Umalusi ungenisa iinkomo ebuhlanti
'The sheperd boy causes the cattle to enter the kraal'
- b. Abantwana baqengqelekisa amatye ethambekeni
'The students cause the stones to roll from the side of the hill'
- c. Umqhubi uhambisa imoto
'The driver causes the car to move'

The same sentences can be interpreted with any of the three agents discussed in (a) to (c), depending on the specific discourse factors. The next sentence has these three agents:

- (43) Utitshala uhambisa abantwana
'The teacher let the children go'
'The teacher helps the children to go'
'The teacher causes the children to go'

4.3.2 [+DEC] verbs and the three interpretations

When the old as well as the new external argument is [-animate] with [+DEC] verbs, the permissive and assistive agent are not present, only the causative agent.

- (44) a. Umoya untlithekisa inqanawa
‘The wind pushes the ship to hit hard’
- b. Amanzi akhukulisekisa inkomo
‘Water wipes away the cow’

In 44(a) **umoya** and in 44(b) **amanzi** are both just causative. They cannot be permissive in that the activity is accidental. They cannot be assistive in that these activities are not desired by the old external argument.

When the old external argument is [-animate] and the new external argument is [+animate] with [+DEC] verbs, the permissive, assistive and causative agents are present.

- (45) a. Oomatiiloshe bantlithekisa inqanawa
‘The sailors cause/allow/assist in pushing the ship to hit hard’
- b. Amadoda akhukulisekisa iinkomo
‘The men cause/allow/assist in the wiping away of cattle’

On the other hand, in the case of an old external argument being [+animate] and the new external argument being [-animate], the permissive and assistive agents cannot be found, only the causative agent.

- (46) a. Umoya untlithekisa amadoda
‘The wind causes the men to hit hard’
- b. Umsinga ukhukulisekisa abantwana
‘The stream causes the children to be wiped away’

In the case of the old as well as the new external arguments being [+animate], the permissive and causative agent are present but the assistive agent will depend on the meaning of the [+DEC] verb.

- (47) a. Indoda intlithekisa umfazi
‘The man causes/allows the woman to hit hard’
- b. Oomatiiloshe bakhukulisekisa abantwana
‘The sailors cause/allow the children to be wiped away’

The woman in 47(a) and the children in 47(b) have no say in the actions they are engaged in and therefore cannot be assistive in these activities. The man, however, in 47(a) and the sailors in 47(b) can cause or allow the activity to take place and are therefore causative and permissive agents to the old external arguments.

In the case of the [+DEC] verb **jikelezisa** in the next example sentence, the three interpretations can be found with [-animate] and [+animate] arguments.

- (48) Uyise ujikelezisa abantwana kujingi
 'The father causes/allows/helps to swave children in merry go round'

In example (48) the new external argument can cause the children to swave, can allow the children to swave and can help the children to swave.

4.3.3 The effect of nga- phrases

The old external argument may end up in another position with the preposition nga- which mostly denotes instrument. This does not apply to motion verbs since they are intransitive. Once the affix -is- is present there will be a need for the object; without objects but with preposition nga- phrases, the sentences are unacceptable.

- (49) a. *Ndifikisa ngomntwana
 'I cause to arrive by child'
 b. *Ndiqengqelekisa ngomoya
 'I cause to roll by wind'
 c. *Ndibalekisa ngebhasi
 'I cause to run by bus'

If a clitic is present, representing the object which is omitted, the sentence is acceptable, as in the following cases.

- (50) a. Ndikufikisa ngomntwana (ukutya)
 'I cause it to arrive by child (food)'
 b. Ndiqengqelekisa ngomoya (ibhola)
 'I cause it to roll by wind (the ball)'
 c. Ndibabalekisa ngebhasi (abafundi)
 'I cause them to run by bus (students)'

If the sentences in (50) are rewritten as the old sentences before the verbs became causatives, it is clear that **ngomntwana**, **ngomoya** and **ngebhasi** are no longer the old external arguments. Because of the clitics these sentences should have been as follows:

- (51)
- a. Ukutya kuyafika
'The food is arriving'
 - b. Ibhola iyaqengqeleka
'The ball is rolling'
 - c. Abantwana bayabaleka
'The children are running'

This shows that if the old external argument combines with the **nga-** preposition and is used with the causative motion verb, the sentences are unacceptable. When reversed into old external arguments the **nga-** phrases disappear, as shown in example sentence (51).

4.3.4 Locative form of the old external argument

The old external argument in a locative form is unacceptable with causativized motion verbs.

- (52)
- a. *Ndifikisa emntwaneni
'I cause to arrive at the child'
 - b. *Ndityibilikisa enkwenkweni
'I cause to slip on the boy'
 - c. *Ndibalekisa ebaleni
'I cause to run at the field'

The sentences in (52) are ambiguous in that there should be something which is caused, helped or allowed to get to the arguments which are direction/location, but the locative phrases are still the original old external argument. This can be tested as follows:

- (53)
- a. Umntwana uyafika
'The child arrives'
 - b. Inkwenkwe iyatyibilika
'The boy slips'
 - c. *Ibala liyabaleka
'The field runs'

In the sentences in (52) something is not named - something caused to be engaged in the action or on to the locatives mentioned in those sentences. In (53) however, the actions are carried out by the old external argument.

4.4 THE REFLEXIVE -ZI-

The reflexive refers to a construction where the subject and the object of a sentence relate to the same entity (du Plessis and Visser, 1992). The reflexive -zi- is found as a prefix of the verb, e.g.:

- (54) Amadoda azithembile
'Men trust themselves'

4.4.1 Arrive class with reflexive

The arrive class verbs behave like transitive verbs, but as mentioned earlier in section 2, their internal argument is a locative. The subject argument and the internal argument which is a locative, in this case do not relate to the same entity.

- (55) a. *Abantwana bafika ebantwaneni
'The children arrive in children'
b. *Abantwana bayazifika
'The children arrive themselves'

Because of some derivational suffixes, arrive verbs can appear with the reflexive -zi-. When the applicative affix -el- appears with the verb, the reflexive -zi- can be used with the arrive class verbs, but in this case the meaning of -zi- disappears. The semantic feature which is [-cause] and [+independent] can be found as evidence in the following examples.

- (56) a. Uyazifikela ekhaya
'He comes on his own at home'
b. Ayazingenela ebuhlanti
'They get into the kraal on their own'
c. Abantwana bayazimkela esikolweni
'Children go away from school on their own'

- d. Abafundi bayazizela kootitshala
'Students come to the teachers on their own'

The affixation of the causative affix **-is-** to the arrive class verbs gives a chance to the reflexive **-zi-** to appear with these verbs. Consider the following examples:

- (57) a. Abantwana bayazifikisa kunina
'The children arrive at the mother on their own'
- b. Umguli uyazingenisa emnyango
'The patient gets in the door by herself'
- c. Amakhwenkwe ayazizisa kusibonda
'The boys bring themselves to the headman'
- d. Induna yazimkisa emsebenzini
'The foreman chased himself away from work'

The PP with **ngokwa-** has pronouns as complements that denote a reflexive emphasizer which can occur with the reflexive **-zi-** morpheme. This reflexive emphasizer can appear with both applicative and causative verbs.

(i) **With applicative verbs**

- (58) a. Uzifikela **ngokwakhe** ekhaya
'He arrives on his own at home'
- b. Ayazingenela **ngokwawo** ebuhlanti
'They get on their own in the kraal'
- c. Bayazimkela **ngokwabo** esikolweni
'They get away on their own from school'
- d. Bazizela **ngokwabo** kootitshala
'They bring themselves to the teachers'

(ii) **With causative verbs**

- (59) a. Bayazifikisa **ngokwabo** kunina
'They get to the mother on their own'

- b. Uyazingenisa **ngokwakhe** emnyango
'She causes herself to get in the doorway on her own'
- c. Ayazizisa **ngokwawo** kusibonda
'They cause themselves to get to the headman on their own'
- d. Induna iyazimkisa **ngokwayo** emsebenzini
'The foreman chases himself away from work'

4.4.2 Roll class with reflexive

Roll class verbs are intransitive. The reflexive **-zi-** therefore cannot appear with them because it refers to a construction where the subject and the object of a sentence relate to the same entity.

- (60)
- a. Abantwana bayatyibilika
'Children slip'
 - b. *Abantwana bayazityibilika
'Children slip themselves'

The reflexive **-zi-** can only appear with the roll class verbs when these verbs have been changed from being intransitive to being transitive through the affixation of applicative affix **-el-** and causative affix **-is-**.

(i) With applicative affix **-el-**

- (61)
- a. Iyaziqengqelekela ibhola
'The ball rolls on its own'
 - b. Uyazityibilikela umntwana
'The child slips on her own'
 - c. Ayazijikelezela amavili
'The wheels turn around/rotate on their own'

In the above sentences in (61) the meaning of reflexive **-zi-** has disappeared and the semantic role of [-cause] and [+independent] is found. The reflexive emphasizer can be used with these sentences in (61) in the following way.

- (62)
- a. Iyaziqengqelekela **ngokwayo** ibhola
'The ball rolls on its own'
 - b. Uyazityibilikela **ngokwakhe** umntwana
'The child slips on her own'
 - c. Ayazijikelezela **ngokwawo** amavili
'The wheels turn around/rotate on their own'

(ii) With causative -is-

- (63)
- a. Iyaziqengqelekisa inkwenkwe
'The boys cause themselves to roll'
 - b. Uyazityibilikisa umntwana
'The child causes herself to slip'
 - c. Ayazijikelezisa amavili
'The wheels cause themselves to rotate'

Since the meaning of the reflexive **-zi-** no longer exists, the new semantic role in the above sentences in (63) will be [+cause] and [+independent]. The reflexive emphazier can also be used with these verbs in the following way.

- (64)
- a. Uyaziqengqelekisa **ngokwakhe** lo mfana
'This boy causes himself to roll'
 - b. Uyazityibilikisa **ngokwakhe** umntwana
'The child causes herself to slip'
 - c. Uyazijikelezisa **ngokwawo** umatshini
'The wheels cause themselves to rotate'

The semantic feature in the above sentences in (64) is [+cause] and [+independent], similar to the semantic feature of the sentences in (63).

4.4.3 Run class with reflexive

Run class verbs are also intransitive and therefore the reflexive **-zi-** cannot appear with them. When the derivational affixes of the applicative form and causative form are added to these verbs, they change into transitive verbs. This change makes it possible for these verbs to appear with the reflexive **-zi-**.

(i) With the applicative affix **-el-**

The semantic feature found with the following sentences is [-cause] and [+independent].

- (65)
- a. Uyazihambela
'He walks on his own'
 - b. Bayazibalekela
'They run on their own'
 - c. Uyazixhentsela
'He dances by himself'
 - d. Uyazitsibela
'He jumps all by himself'

(ii) With the causative **-is-**

When the run class verbs appear with the causative affix **-is-** the reflexive **-zi-** assigns the semantic feature of [+cause] and [+independent].

- (66)
- a. Uyazihambisa
'He causes himself to walk all by himself'
 - b. Bayazibalekisa
'They cause themselves to run all by themselves'
 - c. Ayazitsibisa
'They cause themselves to jump all by themselves'
 - d. Bayazixhentsisa
'They cause themselves to dance all by themselves'

4.5 RECIPROCAL AFFIX -AN-

The reciprocal affix is **-an-** and the effect of the reciprocal construction is that the reciprocal element retains the position of object within the argument structure of the predicate. This affix does away with the syntactic object of the sentence, although this object should still be recognised in order to effect proper reading. The meaning of the reciprocal involves the role of the subject and that of the object.

- (67)
- a. Utitshala ubetha umntwana
'The teacher beats the child'
 - b. Bayabethana
'They beat each other'

In sentence 67(a) **umntwana** has a semantic role of patient, but in 67(b) there is only a meaning of reciprocal which involves a mutual relationship between the teacher and the child.

4.5.1 Reciprocal -an- with the arrive class

A few verbs of the arrive class can take the reciprocal affix **-an-**. When some of the arrive class verbs appear with this affix, their reading does not have the meaning of reciprocal.

- (68)
- a. La mantombazana ayezana
'Girls come after each other in birth'
 - b. Aba bantu bayana nayizolo
'These people think that things are still as they were yesterday'
 - c. *Abahambi bayafikana eKapa
'The visitors arrive each other in Cape Town'
 - d. *Abantwana bayangenana esikolweni
'Children enter each other at school'

Sentences 68(c) and (d) are unacceptable in Xhosa. The usage of **-an-** in sentences 68(a) and (b) is idiomatic and it is therefore idiosyncratic when one takes into consideration the meaning of **-ya-** and **-za-**.

Some arrive class verbs take the affix **-an-** on condition that it does not have a feature meaning of mutual relationship or one of reciprocal, but a durative feature.

- (69)
- a. Behlana nale ntaba
'They keep on going down the mountain'
 - b. Banyukana nale santi
'They keep on climbing this sand'
 - c. Bangenana nezi ntlanganiso
'They keep on get in into these meetings'
 - d. Basondelana nezi zikrelemnqa
'They keep on moving towards these criminals'

The arrive verbs may also appear with the reciprocal affix **-an-** when they are in a causative and an applicative form. The subject argument should always be in a plural form. These changes in the verb usually result into other semantic features than reciprocal.

(i) Associative feature

This feature indicates an action involving two or more actors in simultaneous engagement.

- (70)
- a. Bayafikisana
'They arrive at the same time'
 - b. Bayakhwelisana
'They help each other in riding'
 - c. Bayawisana
'They make each other fall'
 - d. Bayadedelana
'They give each other way to pass'
 - e. Bayachwechwelana
'They creep to each other'

(ii) Durative feature

The durative feature indicates that the subject is engaged in the process in a continuous manner.

- (71)
- a. Bangenisana nala mathole
'They keep on making these calves to enter'

- b. Bagodusana naba bantwana
'They keep on taking these children home'
- c. Balandelana le mihla
'They keep on following each other everyday'
- d. Babuyisana nale mpahla
'They keep on bringing these clothes'

Reciprocal verbs take complements with the preposition **na-**. In the above sentences **na-** has been used in 71(a-c). This **na-** complement may also appear within coordinated subjects as follows:

- (72)
- a. **Indoda nalo mfazi balandelana mihla le**
'The man and the wife follow each other everyday'
 - b. **Lenkwenkwe nale ntombazana bagodusana yonke le mihla**
'This boy and this girl take each other home everyday'

4.5.2 Reciprocal -an- with roll class

The roll class verbs behave like all intransitive verbs. They do not appear with the reciprocal affix **-an-** because they do not have objects.

- (73)
- a. *Bayaqengqelekana
'They roll each other'
 - b. *Bayatyibilikana
'They slip each other'

Sometimes the affix **-an-** may appear with the roll class verbs but without the meaning of reciprocal, but with the semantic feature of durative.

- (74)
- a. La maphepha ajikelezana nale ndlu
'These papers rotate/move around this hut'
 - b. La maza antlithana nale nqanawa
'These waves roll hard on the ship'

The affixation of the applicative affix **-el-** and the causative affix **-is-** to the roll class verbs can make them appear with the **-an-** affix, but the reading will not have the meaning of reciprocal.

(i) Durative

- (75) a. Batyibilikelana nela planga
‘They keep on slipping onto that plank’
- b. Basoloko betyibilikisana
‘They keep on making each other to slip’
- c. Bajikelezana nale nqununu
‘The keep on going round this principal’

(ii) Associative

- (76) a. Bayaqengqelekisana
‘They cause each other to roll’
- b. Bayajikelezišana
‘They cause each other to rotate’
- c. Bayatyibilikelana
‘They slip on each other’

4.5.3 Reciprocal -an- with run class

Run class verbs, like roll class verbs, are intransitive. They do not take the affix **-an-** if the meaning is to be reciprocal, only for the durative meaning.

- (77) a. Bahambana nale ndlela
‘They keep on walking on this road’
- b. Batsibana nale ntambo
‘They keep on jumping over this rope’
- c. Babalekana nolu gqatso
‘They keep on running this race’
- d. Baqhosiqana nale ntaba
‘They keep on going up this mountain’

The affixation of the derivational affixes of the applicative and causative form of a verb may also make it possible for **-an-** to appear with the run class verbs, although this does not give the reciprocal meaning.

(i) Durative

- (78) a. Bahambelana nale nkosi inye
'They keep on going to this same chief'
- b. Batsibelana nezi pesika
'They keep on jumping for these peaches'
- c. Baxhentsisana nala makrwala
'They keep on causing these young men from initiation school to dance'
- d. Ucothisana nale moto
'He keeps on causing the car to move slowly'

(ii) Associative

- (79) a. Bayachwechwelana
'They creep to each other'
- b. Bayahambelana
'They go to each other'
- c. Bayatsibisana
'They cause each other to jump'
- d. Bayahilizisana
'They cause each other to wander'

4.6 PASSIVE AFFIX -W-

The passive affix **-w-** de-externalises the subject argument of the sentence. If the external theta role does occur with the sentence, it occurs in another syntactic position as an agent or theme. In the case of intransitive verbs, the passive verb will be a predicate with no argument at all. The agreement in inflection will receive the feature [+existential] because of the existential **ku-** which is prefixed to the verb.

4.6.1 Passive with motion verbs

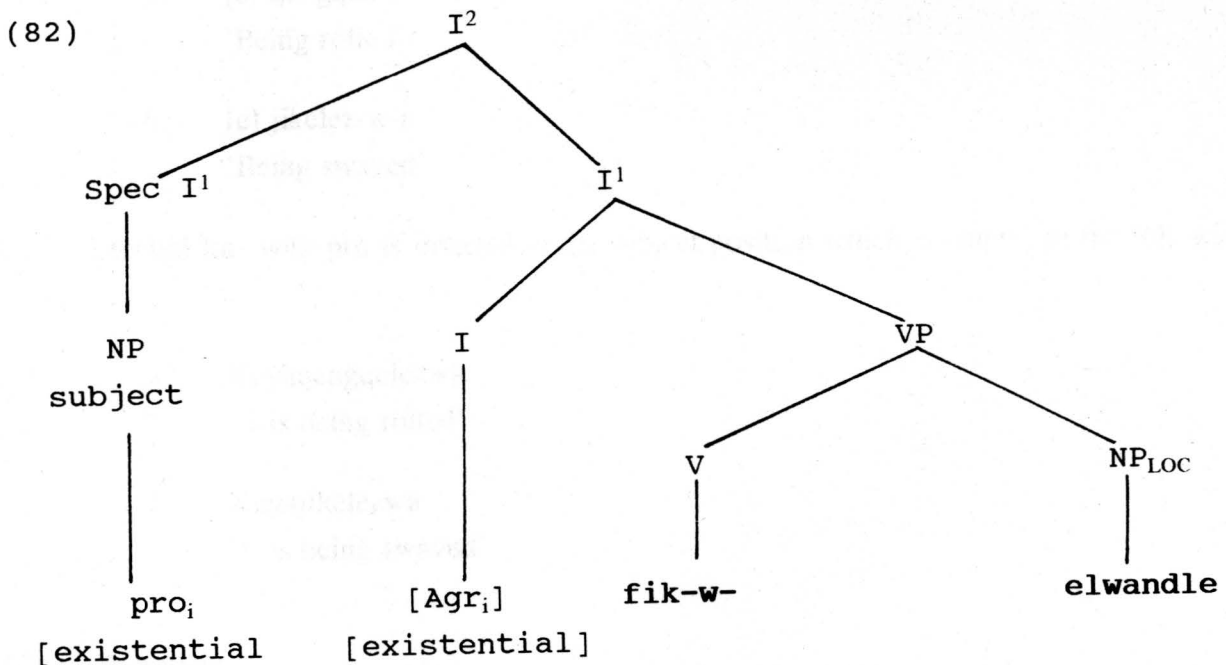
(a) The arrive class

- (80) a. Kuyafikwa elwandle
'It is arrived at the sea'
- b. Kuyangenwa endlwini
'It is entered in the room'

The subject position of the sentences in (80) are empty.

- (81) [e] fik-w-a elwandle
[e] ngen-w-a endlwini

The existential **ku-** coindexed with *pro* and is inserted in the empty position to get the sentences appearing in (80).



(b) Move NP LOC

The NP LOC may be moved to the subject position as shown in the following sentences.

- (83) a. Elwandle kuyafikwa
'In the sea it is arrived'

- b. Endlwini kuyangenwa
'In the room it is entered'

The locatives landed in the empty subject positions in (83) carrying with them the theta roles they had, i.e. direction, and leaving a trace behind.

- (84) a. Elwandle kuyafikwa t
'In the sea it is arrived'
- b. Endlwini kuyangenwa t
'In the room it is entered'

The **ku-** found with **kuyafikwa** and **kuyangenwa** in 84(a) and (b) respectively is a locative agreement.

(c) Roll class

Roll class can appear with the passive **-w-** as in the following sentences.

- (85) a. [e] qengqelek-w-a
'Being rolled'
- b. [e] jikelez-w-a
'Being swaved'

The existential **ku-** with *pro* is inserted in the subject position which is empty, in the following way.

- (86) a. Kuyaqengqelekwa
'It is being rolled'
- b. Kuyajikelezwa
'It is being swaved'

(d) Run class

Like the roll class the run class has no internal argument. The run class verb in a passive form can appear as in the following examples.

- (87) a. [e] hanj-w-a
'Being walked'

- b. [e] balek-w-a
'Being run'

The existential **ku-** with *pro* is inserted in the empty subject position.

- (88) a. Kuyahanjwa
'It is being walked'
- b. Kuyabalekwa
'It is being run'

4.6.2 Copulative noun phrases with motion verbs

The de-externalised subject may disappear or appear as a complement of a passive verb. If it does appear it is as a copulative noun phrase. It brings to this new position its original semantic role.

- (89) a. Kuyafikwa elwandle ngabantu
'It is being arrived at sea by people'
- b. Kuyaqengqelekwa ngamakhwenkwe
'It is being rolled by boys'
- c. Kuyabalekwa ziimbaleki
'It is being run by runners'

If the de-externalised subject had a feature of first or second person, the sentences become unacceptable, as in (90).

- (90) a. *Kuyafikwa ndim
'It is arrived by me'
- b. *Kuyaqengqelekwa nguwe
'It is rolled by you'
- c. *Kuyangenwa nini
'It is entered by you'

Two copulative noun phrases can be found with the passive verbs and the interpretation of these copulatives may be agent and cause.

- (91) a. Kuyagodukwa ngabantwana yindlala
'It is being gone home by children by starvation'
- b. Kuyabhacwa ngabantu yintshutshiso
'It is being wandered by people by ill-treatment'

With [+DEC] verbs the copulatives may be theme and cause.

- (92) a. Kuyaphephethekwa ngamaphepha ngumoya
'It is being blown away by papers bywind'
- b. Kuyakhukulisekwa ziinkomo ngamanzi
'It is being swept away by cows by the stream'

As seen in the above discussion, motion verbs of the arrive class, roll class and run class can appear with the passive morpheme **-w-**.

4.7 NEUTRO-PASSIVE

The neutro-passive affix **-ek-** behaves like a passive affix. It de-externalises the subject argument of the sentence while the existential **ku-** appears with the verb.

4.7.1 Neutro-passive with motion verbs

(a) Arrive class

Arrive class verbs have internal arguments which are locatives. When the neutro-passive affix **-ek-** has been affixed the internal argument may land on the position of the subject.

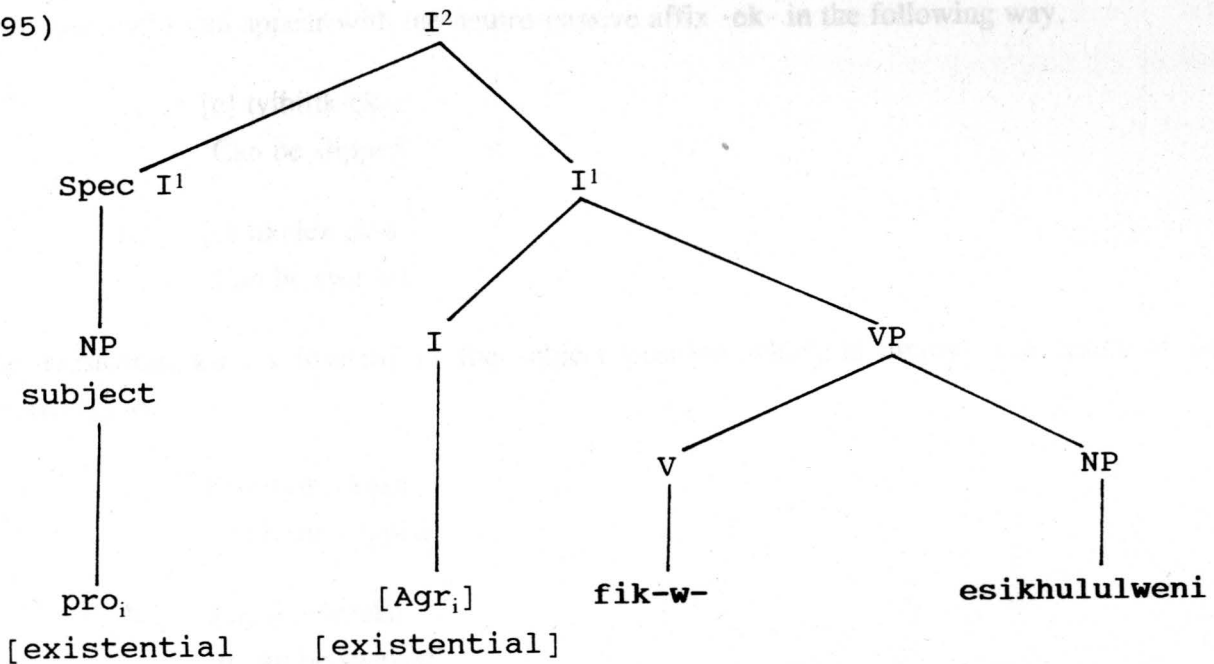
- (93) a. Kuyafikeka esikhululweni
'It can be arrived at the station'
- b. Esikhululweni kuyafikeka
'At the station it can be arrived'

The subject position in 93(a) is an empty position, as shown in (94).

- (94) [e] fik-ek-a esikhululweni
'[e] can arrived at the station'

The existential **ku-** has been inserted in the empty position as shown in the following diagram.

(95)



(b) Move NP LOC

The NP LOC may be moved to the subject position as it appears in 93(b).

- (96) a. Endlwini kuyangenwa
 'In the house it can be entered'
- b. Esikolweni kuyafikeka
 'At school it can be arrived'

The locative appears in the empty subject position in 96(a) and (b). These locatives still have their thematic roles as before and leave a trace where they have been.

- (97) a. Endlwini kuyangeneka t
- b. Esikolweni kuyafikeka t

The **ku-** found with **kuyangeneka** and **kuyafikeka** in 96(a) and (b) respectively, are locative agreements.

(c) Roll class

Roll class verbs can appear with the neutro-passive affix **-ek-** in the following way.

- (98) a. [e] tyibilik-ek-a
 ‘Can be slipped’
- b. [e] jikelez-ek-a
 ‘Can be swaved’

The existential **ku-** is inserted in the subject position which is empty as a result of de-externalisation.

- (99) a. Kuyatyibilikeka
 ‘It can be slipped’
- b. Kuyajikelezeka
 ‘It can be swaved’

(d) Run class

Run class verbs behave like roll class verbs when affixed with the neutro-passive affix **-ek-**.

- (100) a. [e] hamb-ek-a
 ‘Can be gone’
- b. [e] balek-ek-a
 ‘Can be ran’

When the existential **ku-** is inserted in the empty subject position, the sentences will be as follows.

- (101) a. Kuyahambeka
 ‘There it can be walked’
- b. Kuyabalekeka
 ‘There it can be run’

4.7.2 Copulative noun phrases

Motion verbs in neutro-passive form can have copulative noun phrases as complements. With the arrive class verbs the copulative noun phrase can be interpreted as agent and the locative noun phrase may have a reading of location.

- (102) a. Kuyafikeka esikhululweni ngabantu
‘There it is arrived at the station by people’
- b. Kuyangeneka ebuhlanti ziibhokhwe
‘There it is entered in the kraal by goats’

Two copulative noun phrases may appear with motion verbs. The locative noun phrase may be left out or may appear with these two copulative phrases; the additional copulative phrase may be interpreted as cause.

- (103) a. Kuyabuyeka eGoli ngabantu zizitrayiki
‘There it is returned from Johannesburg by the people because of strikes’
- b. Kuyabuyeka ngabantu zizitrayiki
‘There it is returned by people because of strikes’

The copulative noun phrase can appear with roll class verbs as follows:

- (104) a. Kuyatyibilikeka ludaka
‘There it can be slipped because of mud’
- b. Kuyaphephethekeka ngumoya
‘There it is blown away because of wind’

The copulative noun phrases in the sentences in (104) have the semantic reading of cause. Two copulative noun phrases can be used with the verb and the reading may then be theme and cause.

- (105) Kuyaphephethekeka ngamaphepha ngumoya
‘There it is blown away by papers because of wind’

When appearing with run class verbs, the copulative noun phrases can be interpreted as agent.

- (106) a. Kuyahambeka ngabaguli
‘There it can be gone by patients’

- b. Kuyatsibeka ngabantwana
'There it can be jumped over by children'

The two copulative noun phrases can appear with the verb and the interpretation may then be agent and cause.

- (107) Kuyaxhentseka ngamakhwenkwe luvuyo
'There it can be danced by boys because of joy'

Motion verbs can be used with the neutro-passive affix **-ek-** as it has been shown in the discussion above. The neutro-passive **-akal-** cannot work with this group of verbs, as shown in the following example sentences.

- (108) a. *Kuyafikakala esikolweni
'There it can be arrived at school'
- b. *Kuyaqengqelekakala
'There it can be rolled'
- c. *Kuyahambakala
'There it can be gone'

4.8 CONCLUSION

The following conclusions can be deduced from the research done in this section:

(a) Applicative form of a verb

The applicative form of a verb may assign the following roles to its internal argument.

Arrive class

[V NP (+A) LOC (+A)]

The NP may have a reading of benefactive, cause and purpose. The locative may have the reading of direction.

[V NP (+A) LOC (-A)]

The NP has a reading of benefactive, cause and purpose. The locative may have a reading of direction, source, exclusive source, exclusive direction and exclusive location.

[V NP (-A) LOC (+A)]

The NP may have a reading of purpose and cause. The locative may be interpreted as direction or source.

[V NP (-A) LOC (-A)]

The NP may have a reading of purpose and cause, while the locative may be interpreted as exclusive location and direction. The interrogative **ni** may have a reading of cause for the NP and a reading of direction and source for the locative. In the case of **-elel-** the reading of the second NP is purpose.

Roll class**[V NP (+A)] and [V LOC (+A)]**

The NP is interpreted as direction while the locative of the same NP is interpreted as exclusive direction.

[V NP (-A)] and [V LOC (-A)]

The NP has a reading of direction. The locative form may be interpreted as direction too. The interrogative **ni** and the NP may be interpreted as cause. The locative may be interpreted as exclusive location and also as direction.

Run class**[V NP (+A)] and [V LOC (+A)]**

The NP has a reading of benefactive and the locative is interpreted as direction, location and source.

[V NP (-A)] and [V LOC (-A)]

The NP has a reading of benefactive, purpose and cause. the locative has a semantic reading of direction, location and source. The interrogative **ni** and the NP may have a reading of cause. The locative may be interpreted as location as well as direction.

(b) Causative

The reading of the new external argument may be permissive agent, assistive agent and also causative agent.

When the old as well as the new external argument is [-animate] with the [+DEC] verbs, the permissive and assistive interpretation is absent. Only the causative agent can be found.

- (109) *Amanzi akhukulisekisa amatye*
 'Water causes the stones to be wiped away'

The old external argument cannot end in a *nga-* phrase because there is usually a need for the object, as shown in (b) in the following sentences.

- (110) a. **Ndifikisa ngomntwana*
 'I cause to arrive by child'
- b. *Ndifikisa ukutya ngomntwana*
 'I cause food to arrive by the child'

(c) Reflexive

The reflexive *-zi-* can only appear with the motion verbs if some derivational affixes are used with them. The reflexive meaning disappears. With the applicative form of a verb the reading of [-cause] and [+independent] can be found. With the causative form the reading of [+cause] and [+independent] may be found.

The reflexive emphasizer can appear with these verb-forms in a sentence.

(d) Reciprocal

Motion verbs cannot be in a reciprocal form, as shown in the next example sentence.

- (112) **Bayahambana*
 'They go each other'

These verbs take the affix *-an-* on condition that it does not have a meaning of mutual relationship or a feature of reciprocal but one of duration.

- (113) *Bangenana nezi ntlanganiso*
 'They keep on attending these meetings'

The motion verb which is in an applicative or causative form may appear with the affix **-an-** with a reading of the durative and associative feature.

(e) Passive and neutro-passive

The passive and neutro-passive affixes de-externalize the subject argument of the subject, leaving the subject position of the sentence empty.

- (114) a. [e] fik-w-a elwandle
 ‘Is being arrived at sea’
 b. [e] fik-ek-a elwandle
 ‘Can be arrived at sea’

Existential **ku-**, co-indexed with *pro*, is inserted in the empty position. The NP_{LOC} can be moved to the subject position and a trace is left behind.

- (115) a. Elwandle kuyafikwa t
 ‘At the sea there it is arrived’
 b. Elwandle kuyafikeka t
 ‘At the sea there it can be arrived’

SECTION 5

5. ADJUNCTS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In the traditional literature on parsing, optional phrasal constituents such as PP are called adjuncts (Haegeman, 1991:32). The position of the adjunct is a postverbal position. In Xhosa there are different adjunct categories.

The aim of this section is to look at the adjuncts which can appear with motion verbs. Subject inversion as well as the NPs which can appear as objects of motion verbs will be dealt with. The **nga-** phrases and the interpretation of their complements when these phrases appear with motion verbs will also be discussed. Infinitive and **ukuba-** clauses with the motion verbs will be considered.

5.2 SUBJECT INVERSION

According to Trask (1993:14) subject inversion refers to a general term for any phenomenon in which the cononical ordering of two elements is reversed. If they are complements of motion verbs, locative complements have theta-roles which may be affected by subject inversion. Stowell (1992:54) states that a locative phrase is preposed and the subject postposed. In subject inversion the subject in a sentence may be moved to a postverbal adjunct position. Consider the following example sentences:

- (1)
 - a. Kufika abantwana ekhaya
'There arrive children at home'
 - b. Kuqengqeleka amatye entabeni
'There roll stones from the mountain'
 - c. Kubaleka amakhwenkwe ebaleni
'There run boys in the field'

The sentences in 1(a-c) have **ku-** associated with the phonologically empty pro with the feature [existential]. These sentences can appear as follows without this pro:

- (2)
- a. [] fika abantwana ekhaya
'[] arrive children at home'
 - b. [] qengqeleka amatye entabeni
'[] roll stones from the mountain'
 - c. [] baleka amakhwenkwe ebaleni
'[] run boys in the field'

The tense of the verb should always conform to what is known as the short form of the tense. If the long form of the tense is used, the sentence becomes ungrammatical, as in (3) below:

- (3)
- a. *Kuyafika abantwana ekhaya
'There is arriving children at home'
 - b. *Kuyaqengqeleka amatye entabeni
'There is rolling stones from the mountain'
 - c. *Kuyabaleka amakhwenkwe ebaleni
'There is running boys in the field'

Using the short form of the tense, the sentences in 3(a-c) will appear as follows:

- (4)
- a. Kufika abantwana ekhaya
'There arrive children at home'
 - b. Kuqengqeleka amatye entabeni
'There roll stones from the mountain'
 - c. Kubaleka amakhwenkwe
'There run boys in the field'

The long form of -ile too is unacceptable.

- (5)
- a. *Kufikile abantwana ekhaya
'There have arrived children at home'
 - b. *Kuqengqelekile amatye
'There have rolled stones from the mountain'
 - c. *Kubalekile amakhwenkwe
'There have run boys in the field'

With the short form the sentences in 5(a-c) will be as follows and acceptable.

- (6)
- a. Kufike abantwana ekhaya
'There have arrived children at home'
 - b. Kuqengqeleke amatye entabeni
'There have rolled stones from the mountain'
 - c. Kubaleke amakhwenkwe ebaleni
'There have run boys in the field'

There is usually a semantic effect brought about by this movement of the subject which is known as focus. It shows definite emphasis on the position occupied by the subject which is usually the postverbal adjunct position.

- (7)
- a. Kufika abantwana, hayi ititshala
'There arrive children, not teachers'
 - b. Kuqengqeleka amatye, hayi amagada
'There roll stones, not soil'
 - c. Kubaleka amakhwenkwe, hayi amantombazana
'There run boys, not girls'

Abantwana, **amatye** and **amakhwenkwe** in 7(a), (b) and (c) respectively, are in a focus position. There is no possibility of using an ordinary pronoun with features of person, number or gender with the verb in the place of the subject.

- (8)
- a. *Kuyabafika, hayi ititshala
'There arrived them, not teachers'
 - b. *Kuyawaqengqeleka, hayi amagada
'There roll them, not soil'
 - c. *Kuyawabaleka, hayi amantombazana
'There run them, not girls'

In the following sentences the focus is no longer on the subject as its position is occupied by the locative.

- (9)
- a. Kufika **ekhaya** abantwana, hayi edolophini
'There arrive **at home** children, not in town'

- b. Kuqengqeleka **entabeni** amatye, hayi emlanjeni
'There roll **from the mountain** stones, not from the river'
- c. Kubaleka **ebaleni** amakhwenkwe, hayi endle
'There run **in the field** boys, not in the veld'

A quantifier pronoun with **-ona** which has the additional feature of emphasis, can be used.

- (10) a. (i) Kufike abantwana, hayi iititshala
'There has arrived children, not teachers'
- (ii) Kufike **bona**, hayi iititshala
'There has arrived them, not teachers'
- b. (i) Kuqengqeleka amatye, hayi amagada
'There roll stones, not soil'
- (ii) Kuqengqeleka **wona**, hayi amagada
'There roll them, not soil'
- c. (i) Kubaleka amakhwenkwe, hayi amantombazana
'There run boys, not girls'
- (ii) Kubaleka **wona**, hayi amantombazana
'There run them, not girls'

5.3 MOTION VERBS WITH NPS

Intransitive verbs may appear with cognate objects which are direct object noun phrases whose head noun denotes the event or state the nominalisation of the verb. The cognate objects are non-arguments, they are adjuncts of the verb. According to du Plessis and Visser (1992) their adjunct status is determined by the semantic relation between the head noun and the verb, rather than by the lexical property of the head.

- (11) a. Ndalila iinyembezi
'I cried tears'
- b. Ndalala ubuthongo
'I slept sleep'

5.3.1 Cognate objects with motion verbs

There are very few instances where the cognate object can be found with motion verbs. Consider the following sentences in (12) below:

- (12)
- a. Ndajikeleza umjikelo
'I rotate the rotation'
 - b. Ndatsiba umtsi
'I jumped a jump'
 - c. Ndahamba uhambo
'I walked a walk'

5.3.2 NPs as objects of intransitive motion verbs

In some cases the motion verb, although intransitive in nature, may appear with internal arguments which are not locative complements but direct objects, as in the following sentences.

- (13)
- a. Wawa isiqaqqa
'He fainted'
 - b. Behlika isitafu
'They got down whilst the car was moving'
 - c. Ndiphuma iphulo
'I go for search'
 - d. Bangena icawa
'They get into the church'
 - e. Bahamba isikolo
'They go to school'
 - f. Babaleka ugqatso
'They run the race'
 - g. Benyuka intaba
'They go up the mountain'

All the sentences in (13) have an internal argument and the verbs accept the clitics as in the following sentences.

- (14)
- a. Wasiwa isiqaqqa
'He fainted it fainting'
 - b. Wasihla isitafu
'He went down it moving'
 - c. Ndaliphuma iphulo
'I went it in search of it'
 - d. Bayingena icawa
'They entered it the church'
 - e. Basihamba isikolo
'They go it the school'
 - f. Balubaleka ugqatso
'They run it the race'
 - g. Bayinyuka intaba
'They go up it the mountain'

The sentences in (14) show that these motion verbs can accept objectival agreement. These verbs can therefore appear with internal arguments which are objects.

5.4 NGA- PHRASES

The preposition **nga-** occurs in the PP as an adjunct in a sentence. According to Lutya (1994:10) Xhosa as a language has few prepositions, the result being that the preposition **nga-** is associated with a wide variety of meanings. Malinga (1984:83) in supporting Lutya, states that there are a few words in Xhosa taken as prepositions, e.g. **nga-** and **na-**. The preposition **nga-** (by means of, through, with, by) normally precedes its complement and cannot appear alone without its complement (Nikelo, 1990).

- (18)
- a. *Abantwana bahamba nga-
'Children go by means of'
 - b. Abantwana bahamba ngebhasi
'Children go by means of a bus'

The **nga-** preposition may have a complement of the following types of head nouns:

Concrete nouns	(nga + imela)
Abstract nouns	(nga + ubungxamo)
Human nouns	(nga + intombi)
Animal nouns	(nga + ihashe)
Body parts	(nga + unyawo)

5.4.1 Arrive class verbs with **nga-** phrases

The different types of nouns discussed in 5.4 may be complements of the preposition **nga-** and give the following readings:

(a) Concrete nouns

When appearing with the preposition **nga-**, the following semantic readings may be found:

(i) Instrument

- (19) a. Bafika ngemoto esikolweni
'They arrived by means of a car at school'
- b. Banduluka ngebhasi ukusiya elwandle
'They travel by means of a bus to the beach'

(ii) Theme

- (20) a. Uze ngemoto ebiweyo apha emapoliseni
'He has come about a stolen car here to the police'
- b. Uze ngemela eduke izolo phaya ekhitshini
'He has come about a lost knife there in the kitchen yesterday'

(iii) Cause

- (21) Abantwaba bemke ngemali yeetitshala efunyenwe ezimpahleni zabo
'Children left because of the money of the teachers which was found in their clothes'

(b) Abstract nouns

When it is a complement of **nga-** the abstract noun may have the following readings.

(i) Instrument

- (22) a. Bafika ngokholo
'They arrived by means of faith'
- b. Bangena ngevesi
'They entered by means of a verse'

If the above sentences can have a modifier, the reading of instrument may change.

- (23) a. Bafika ngokholo lwabo
'They arrived about their faith'
- b. Bangena ngevesi yethu
'They entered about our verse'

The semantic interpretation for the **nga-** complement in the above sentences is theme.

(ii) Theme

- (24) a. Beza ngentlungu yokufa komphathi wabo apha enkosini
'They come about the pain of the death of their leader here to the chief'
- b. Abantwana beze ngenkohlaklo yetitshalakazi apha kwinqununu
'These children have come about the cruelty of their teacher here to the principal'

(iii) Cause

- (25) Abantwana bayagoduka ngezizathu zokutshisa kwabo isikolo kubusuku obudlulileyo
'Children go home because of the reason for burning the school last night'

(iii) Manner

- (26) a. Wangena ngetshova
'He entered with coercion'

- b. Baphuma ngocwangco
'They get out quietly'

If the modifier is added to the sentences in (26) their semantic role changes into theme.

- (27) a. Wangena ngetshova yakhe
'He entered about his coercion'
- b. Baza ngocwangco lwabo
'They came about their quietness'

(c) **Human nouns**

(i) **Instrument**

- (28) a. Iingxwelerha zifike ngamapolisa
'The injured arrived by means of police'
- b. Ndangena ngoNokuzola emsebenzini
'I entered by means of Nokuzola at work'

(ii) **Theme**

- (29) a. Uze ngonyana wakhe oseGoli enkosini
'He has come about his son who is in Gauteng to the chief'
- b. Bafika ngomntwana wabo olapha esibhedlele
'They arrived about their daughter who is here in hospital'

(iii) **Cause**

- (30) Bemka ngonyana wabo obahlasela yonke le imihla ngezitshetshe
'They go away because of their son who attacks them by knives everyday'

(d) Animal nouns**(i) Instrument**

- (31) a. Bafika ngamahashe
'They arrive by means of horses'
- b. Benyuka ngeenkamela
'They went up by means of camels'

(ii) Theme

- (32) a. Sigoduka ngeenkomo ezibiweyo ekhaya
'We go home about stolen cattle at home'
- b. Beza ngamahashe asesikiti
'They come about horses that are kept by the chief'

(iii) Cause

- (33) Abantwana bemka ngenkomo enotshobo ehlaba yonke into koba buhlanti
'Children go home because of a mad cow which attacks everyone in the kraal'

(e) Body parts nouns**(i) Instrument**

- (34) a. Bafike ngeenyawo
'They arrived by means of feet'
- b. Benyuka ngamadolo
'They went up by means of feet'

(ii) Theme

- (35) a. Uya ngentloko eyolukwe izolo
'She goes about the head which was braided yesterday'

- b. Beza ngesifuba esigqugqisileyo kule lali
 'They come about chest (painful chest) which is found in this location'

(iii) **Cause**

- (36) Bagoduke ngezisu eziqhambuke kwesi sikolo kwiveki edlulileyo
 'They went home because of the outbreak of stomachs in this school last week'

5.4.2 Roll class verbs with nga-phrases

The roll class verbs can appear with the **nga-** phrases which have a complement of the nouns mentioned in 5.4. The semantic interpretations may be as follows:

(a) **Concrete nouns**

(i) **Instrument**

- (37) Baqengqeleka ngebhasi
 'They rolled by means of a bus'

(ii) **Cause**

- (38) Baqengqeleka ngelitye elataka kwenye imoto laphazamisa umqhubi
 'They rolled because of a stone which flew from another car and disturbed the driver'

(b) **Human nouns**

(i) **Instrument**

- (39) Usana lwatyibilika ngonina
 'The baby slipped by means of the mother, i.e. the mother slipped too'

(ii) **Cause**

- (40) Baqengqeleka ngoSipho owaphazamisa umqhubi
 'They rolled because of Sipho who disturbed the driver'

(c) Animal nouns**(i) Instrument**

- (41) Waqengqeleka ngehashe kwelo thambeka
 'He rolled by means of a horse down the hill'

(ii) Cause

- (42) Waqengqeleka ngegusha eyayisezingxondorheni
 'He rolled because of a sheep which was in a precipitous hill'

(d) Body parts nouns**(i) Instrument**

- (43) Batyibilika ngeenyawo
 'They slipped by means of feet'

(ii) Cause

- (44) Batyibilika ngezandla ezimpunyululu, ezenza abakwazi ukubambelela
 'They slipped because of slippery hands, which caused them not to be able to hold firmly'

(e) Abstract nouns**(i) Instrument**

- (45) Batyibilika ngengozi
 'They slipped by accident'

(ii) Cause

- (ii) Baqengqeleka ngogqabhuko lwevili
 'They rolled because of tyer burst'

(iii) Manner

- (47) Wantlitheka ngamandla
 'He hit with power'

5.4.3 Run class verbs with nga- phrases

A complement of a run class verb may be a **nga-** phrase. The complement of the **nga-** preposition may be one of the types of nouns in 5.4 and the semantic reading of these nouns can be as follows.

(a) Concrete nouns**(i) Instrument**

- (48) Baza kuhamba ngololiwe ukusinga eKapa
 'They will go by means of a train to Cape Town'

(ii) Theme

- (49) Bahamba ngemali kuzo zonke ezi bhanki
 'They go about money in all these banks'

(iii) Cause

- (50) Sabaleka ngamatye ayegityiselwa kubadlali beqela lethu
 'We ran because of stones which were thrown at the players of our team'

(b) Human nouns**(i) Instrument**

- (51) Babaleka ngamapolisa
 'They ran away by means of police'

(ii) Theme

- (52) Bazula ngonyana odukileyo ekhayeni lakhe
 'They wander about the lost son from his home'

(iii) Cause

- (53) Babaleka ngonyana wabo ophambanayo, obangcungcuthekisayo
 'They run away because of their son who is mentally disturbed, who ill-treats them'

(c) Animal nouns**(i) Instrument**

- (54) Bahamba ngamahashe
 'They travel by means of horses'

(ii) Theme

- (55) Abacuphi bahamba ngemfuyo ebiweyo kwezi lali
 'The police go about the stolen stock in these villages'

(iii) Cause

- (56) Babaleka ngeegusha ezigcwele ekhabeni lombona ukuze bazikhuphe
 'They run because of the sheep in the maize field so that they chase them out'

(d) Body parts nouns**(i) Instrument**

- (57) Bakhasa ngamadolo
 'They crawl by means of knees'

(ii) Theme

- (58) Bamqhuba ngesisu sala nkwenkwe yaseMaqwathini
 'They drive her about the stomach of that boy of Maqwathini'

(iii) Cause

- (59) Wasala ngeenyawo ezinempehla aza ambamba amazim
 'He ran slowly (remained) because of painful feet and was caught by the cannibals'

(e) Abstract nouns**(i) Instrument**

- (60) Bahamba ngemvisiswano
 'They go by means of an agreement'

If the modifier is added to the sentence in (60) the semantic role changes into theme

- (61) Bahamba ngemvisiswano yabo
 'They go about their agreements'

(ii) Theme

- (62) Sihamba ngombandela odla umzi
 'We go about a case of the family'

(iii) Cause

- (63) Babaleka ngesazela sokuba bebhale bathuka ititshala
 'They run because of the conscious that they wrote and insulted the teacher'

(iv) Manner

- (64) Abafana bahamba ngengqiqo
 'Young men walk with care'

TABLE II

ARRIVE CLASS	INSTRUMENT	THEME	CAUSE	MANNER
+Concrete Noun	+	+	+	
+Abstract Noun	+	+	+	+
+Human Noun	+	+	+	
+Body parts Noun	+	+	+	
+Animal Noun	+	+	+	
ROLL CLASS	INSTRUMENT	THEME	CAUSE	MANNER
+Concrete Noun	+		+	
+Abstract Noun	+		+	+
+Human Noun	+		+	
+Body parts Noun	+		+	
+Animal Noun	+		+	
RUN CLASS	INSTRUMENT	THEME	CAUSE	MANNER
+Concrete Noun	+	+	+	
+Abstract Noun	+	+	+	+
+Human Noun	+	+	+	
+Body parts Noun	+	+	+	
+Animal Noun	+	+	+	

5.5 THE INFINITIVE AND UKUBA- CLAUSES

According to Tunzelana (1994:3) the infinitive is commonly viewed, on the one hand, as a Class 15 noun characterised by the class prefix **ku-**, and on the other hand, as a verb because of the verbal properties it exemplifies. The infinitive in Bantu languages cannot be regarded as a phenomenon non exhibiting characteristics belonging to one syntactic category only (Du Plessis, 1982; Visser, 1989). **Ukuba** on the other hand is a complementizer and sentences with this complementizer are usually found as adjuncts of the verb.

5.5.1 Infinitive clause

In general, intransitive verbs do not allow infinitives as complements, but when an intransitive verb is a motion verb it may take an infinitive as a complement on condition that the verb with the infinitive is also a motion verb. Consider the following example sentences:

- (65)
- a. Wanduluka ukusinga Phesheya
'He left to go overseas'
 - b. Basuka ukuya kuqengqeleka
'They left to go to roll'
 - c. Bahamba ukubheka elwandle
'They went to go to the sea'

When a verb in the infinitive is not a motion verb, the sentences are unacceptable.

- (66)
- a. *Banduluka ukwakha indlu
'They left to build a house'
 - b. *Ubuya ukulala ebhedini
'He returns to sleep on the bed'
 - c. *Bangena ukutshayela umgangatho
'They get in to sweep the floor'

Although the matrix verbs in (66) are motion verbs, the fact that they are combined with non-motion verbs make the sentences unacceptable.

5.5.2 The matrix verbs with the applicative affix -el-

When the applicative affix -el- is affixed to the matrix verbs of the sentences in (65), the following sentences will result. The semantic interpretation of the infinitive is purposive, the same as in (65).

- (67)
- a. Wandulukela ukusinga Phesheya
'He left to go overseas'
 - b. Basukela ukuya kuqengqeleka
'They left to go to roll'
 - c. Bahambela ukubheka elwandle
'They go to go to the sea'

The sentences in (66) which were unacceptable because they had a non-motion verb in the infinitive, will be acceptable if they appear as follows with the applicative affix -el-.

- (68)
- a. Bandulukela ukwakha indlu
'They left to build a house'
 - b. Ubuyela ukulala ebhedini
'He returns to sleep on the bed'
 - c. Bangenela ukutshayela umgangatho
'They enter to sweep the floor'

The sentences in (68) are now acceptable and the infinitive has a reading of purpose.

5.5.3 Ukuba clauses

Sentences in Xhosa with the **ukuba** complementizer are usually found as adjuncts of verbs.

- (69)
- a. Ndiyahamba **ukuba** ndiye kusebenza
'I go that I go to work'
 - b. Wesuka **ukuba** aye kuqengqeleka
'He left that he went to roll'
 - c. Bahamba ukuba babheke elwandle
'They go that they go to the sea'

In the above sentences the matrix verb is the motion verb which is also found in the **ukuba**-clause. If the verb in the **ukuba**-clause is not a motion verb, the sentences will be unacceptable.

- (70)
- a. *Banduluka ukuba bakhe indlu
'They left that they build the house'
 - b. *Babuya ukuba balale ebhedini
'They come back that they sleep on the bed'
 - c. *Bangena ukuba batshaye umgangatho
'They get in that they sweep the floor'

If the matrix verbs of the sentences in (70) are affixed with the applicative affix **-el-**, the sentences will be acceptable.

- (71)
- a. Bandulukela ukuba bakhe indlu
'They leave that they build a house'
 - b. Babuyela ukuba balale ebhedini
'They come back that they sleep on the bed'
 - c. Bangenela ukuba batshaye umgangatho
'They get in that they sweep the floor'

5.6 CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the following facts can be deduced from the study done in this section.

(a) Subject inversion

In subject inversion the subject of a sentence may be moved to the postverbal adjunct position. **Ku-** associated with the phonologically empty *pro* with the feature of existential is inserted in the position of the inverted subject.

- (72) Kufika abantwana ekhaya
'There arrive children at home'

Subject inversion brings a semantic effect of focus. The definite emphasis is on the position occupied by the subject.

(b) Motion verbs with NPs

A number of motion verbs can take cognate objects.

- (73) Ndihamba uhambo
'I walk a walk'

Although motion verbs are intransitive in nature, some may appear with an object.

- (74) Ndibaleka ugqatso
'I run the race'

(c) Nga- phrase

The **nga-** preposition may have a complement of the following head nouns:

Concrete noun, abstract noun, human noun, animal noun body parts noun.

The following semantic readings may be found with these phrases:

(i) Arrive class

Nga + concrete head noun has a reading of instrument, theme and cause.

Nga + abstract noun has a reading of instrument, theme, cause and manner.

Nga + human noun has a reading of instrument, theme and cause.

Nga + animal noun has a reading of instrument, theme and cause.

Nga + body part noun has a reading of instrument, theme and cause.

(ii) Roll class

With roll class verbs the reading of the head noun of the PP can be as follows:

Nga + concrete noun has a reading of instrument and cause.

Nga + abstract noun has a reading of instrument, cause and manner.

Nga + human noun has a reading of instrument and cause

Nga + animal noun has a reading of instrument and cause.

Nga + body part noun has a reading of instrument and cause.

(iii) Run class

The readings with the run class verbs are as follows:

- Nga + concrete noun has an interpretation of instrument, theme and cause.
- Nga + human noun has a reading of instrument, theme and cause.
- Nga + animal noun has a reading of instrument, theme and cause.
- Nga + body part noun has a reading of instrument, theme and cause
- Nga + abstract noun has a reading of instrument, theme, cause and manner.

(d) The infinitive and ukuba- clause

Intransitive verbs do not allow infinitives as complements, but when an intransitive verb is a motion verb it can take an infinitive as complement on condition that the verb in the infinitive is also a motion verb. If not, the sentence will be unacceptable.

- (75) *Banduluka ukwakha indlu
'They leave to build a house'

When the applicative affix **-el-** is affixed to the matrix verb, the above sentence in (75) will be acceptable.

- (76) Bandulukela ukwakha indlu
'They leave in order to build a house'

With **ukuba-** clauses the matrix verb should be a motion verb, found with the **ukuba-** clause. If the verb with the **ukuba-** clause is not a motion verb, the sentence is unacceptable. However, if the matrix verb is affixed with the applicative affix **-el-**, the sentence can be acceptable.

- (77) a. *Babuya ukuba balale ebhedini
'They return that sleep on the bed'
- b. Babuyela ukuba balale ebhedini
'They return so that they sleep on the bed.'

SECTION 6

6. CONCLUSION

The aim of this study was to explore the motion verbs in Xhosa. In this section the findings which were realised in Sections 1 to 5 will be presented in a summarised form.

6.1 CLASSIFICATION OF MOTION VERBS

It was discovered that the external arguments of the different classes of motion verbs may have the following semantic interpretations.

6.1.1 The Arrive class

With this class of verbs the external argument may be an agent or a theme. The agent may only be [+animate].

- (1) Iimbaleki zifika ebaleni
'The runners arrive in the field'

The agent may have a capacity for volition although there may be no volition in the sentence.

- (2) Iinkomo zangena ediphini ziqhutywa ngamakhwenkwe
'The cows entered the dipping tank driven by boys'

The theme role may be assigned to the external argument which is [+animate] or [-animate].

- (3) a. Inkwenkwe itshona esizibeni
'The boy disappears in the deep water'
- b. Isikhitshane sizika elwandle
'The boat sinks in the sea'

6.1.2 The Run class

With the run class it was discovered that the external argument can be agent and theme; with the agent being [+animate].

- (4) Abasebenzi bayahamba
'Workers are walking'

The theme may be [+animate] or [-animate].

- (5) a. Inxila lagxadazela ebhasini
'The drunkard staggered in the bus'
- b. Inkanyama yahamba elalini yethu
'The tornado walked through our location'

6.1.3 The Roll class

It was discovered that the external argument may be agent and theme with the roll class. The agent is only [+animate].

- (6) a. abantwana bathanda ukuqengqeleka engceni eluhlaza
'Children like to roll on green grass'
- b. Abantwana bafuna ukutyibilika eludakeni
'Children want to slip on the mud'

The same external arguments may be themes when there is no intention for that particular action. In such a case the external argument is only an entity which moves.

- (7) Umntwana watyibilika emanqwanqweni waya kuwa ezantsi
'The child slipped on the steps and fell down'

The external argument may be [-animate] and be a theme.

- (8) Isitya satyibilika ekhephini
'The dish slipped on the snow'

6.1.4 Inherent directional verb

The arrive class which is also called the inherent directional verb, includes two types of verbs. The first type are verbs which denote achievement of motion to a specific point, i.e. achieved location, as shown in (9).

- (9) Abantwana bafika esikhululweni
'Children arrive at the station'

The second type are verbs that denote motion towards a specific direction and these verbs have a meaning which includes an inherent specified path, as in (10).

- (10) Uloliwe usondela esikhululweni
 'The train moves towards the station'

6.1.5 Manner of motion verbs

It was discovered that within the manner of motion verbs there are [+DEC] verbs and [-DEC] verbs.

(i) [+DEC] verbs

It has been established that [+DEC] verbs can only assign the role of theme. The involvement of the feature [+DEC] means that the entity which moves is engaged in the activity through the contribution of the external force which may be a push or gravity. The entity which moves does not choose to move and it may be [+animate] or [-animate].

- (11) a. Umntwana uyakhukuliseka
 'The child is pushed down by the stream'
 b. Amaza antlaleka ematweni
 'The waves roll hard on stones'

(ii) [-DEC] verbs

It has been established that these verbs can assign a theta role of agent/actor to the external argument. These verbs involve a protagonist control. The external argument is [+animate].

- (12) Abantwana bayahamba
 'The children walk'

The verb in (12) involves a protagonist control and the external argument has volition to carry out the activity.

(iii) [+/-DEC] verbs

It has been established that there are verbs from the [+DEC] verbs which involve a direct external cause but the entity which is in motion can still choose and decide to embark on that

activity. The entity is moved and at the same time it is involved volutarily and deliberately. These verbs can then assign a theme or agent theta role to the external argument.

- (13) a. (i) Abadlali bayathanda ukuqengqeleka engceni eluhlaza
'Players like to roll on green grass'
(ii) Umakhi waqengqeleka kuphahla lwendlu waya kubetha ezantsi
'The builder rolled from the roof of the house and hit down'
- b. (i) Inyoka yolwandle iphethuphethuka emanzini xa ifuna ukutya
'The snake rolled in water in order to get food'
(ii) Inyoka yolwandle iphethuphethuka emanzini ngenxa yomsinga
'The snake rolled because it was pushed by the stream'

The external arguments in 13a(i) and 13b(i) are agents, while the external arguments in 13a(ii) and 13b(ii) are theme.

6.2 FEATURES OF MOTION VERBS

The following features of motion verbs were established.

6.2.1 Locative argument

Locative phrases can appear in different sentential positions. The locatives can be the old noun classes of locatives, e.g. **mva** and **phambili** or they can be locative phrases with the **e-/ini** morpheme or locative prepositional phrases like **kuTsolo**.

6.2.2 A locative as a complement

Locatives can be complements of the motion verb, as in the next example sentences.

- (14) a. Ndiya ehotele
'I go to the hotel'
- b. Baya emgidini
'They go to the feast'

The locative complements have a theta role.

6.2.3 Interpretation of locative argument

It was discovered that there are different theta roles which can be assigned to the different arguments by motion verbs.

(i) Location

- (15) Uloliwe ufikela **esikhululweni**
'The train arrives at the station'

(ii) Direction

- (16) Ndiya **esikolweni**
'I go to the school'

(iii) Source

- (17) Amakhwenkwe avela **phesheya**
'The boys come from abroad'

(iv) Cause

- (18) Amaphepha aphephetheka **emoyeni**
'The papers are blown in wind'

6.2.4 Locative inversion

It was found that locative noun phrases can appear as the subject of the sentence. In such cases it can have a locative agreement.

- (19) [Esikolweni] [apho **kuya** abantwana] **kulungile**
subject agr subject agr

6.2.5 Time phrases and motion verbs

It was discovered that motion verbs can appear with time phrases.

- (20) a. Imoto ime **imizuzu emithathu**
'The car stopped for three minutes'

- b. Bafike **emizuzwini emithathu**
'They came in three minutes after starting time'
- c. Indlela bayihamba **ngemizuzu emithathu**
'They travelled the road in three minutes'

With time phrases, arrive class verbs cannot appear with **lonke ixesha** and **imini yonke**. In such instances the resulting sentences will be unacceptable.

- (21) a. *Wafika lonke ixesha sibukelu
'He arrived all the time we were watching'
- b. *Wafika imini yonke sigadile
'He arrived the whole day we watched'

But other classes can appear with these clauses.

6.2.6 Commands and requests

It was established that in Xhosa the imperative mood is usually used in order to express commands.

- (22) Fika
Tyibilika
Baleka

Requests in Xhosa can be expressed through the use of deficient verbs followed by the subjunctive mood.

- (23) Mabafike

It should be noted that [+DEC] cannot be used with commands and requests as the external arguments are themes. However, if these appear with agents, they can be used with commands and requests.

6.3 DERIVATIONAL AFFIXES

The following findings have been noted with derivational affixes.

6.3.1 Applicative affix -el-

(i) Arrive class

(a) [V NP (+A) LOC (+A)]

The NP may be interpreted as benefactive, cause and purpose while the locative phrase may only be interpreted as direction.

(b) [V NP (+A) LOC (-A)]

The [+animate] NP may have a semantic role of benefactive, cause and purpose and the [-animate] locative may have an interpretation of direction, source, exclusive source, exclusive direction and exclusive location.

(c) [V NP (-A) LOC (-A)]

The [-animate] NP may have a semantic role of purpose and cause, whilst the locative which is also [-animate] may be interpreted as exclusive location and direction.

(d) V NP (-A) LOC (+A)]

The NP may have a reading of purpose and cause and the locative may be interpreted as direction or source.

(e) Interrogative ni

The arrive class verbs with interrogative **ni** and the NP which may be [+animate] or [-animate] as well as the locative which may be [+animate] or [-animate] may be interpreted as cause for the NP and direction and source for the locative. In cases where -el- is used the second NP is purpose and the locative is direction and source.

(ii) Roll class**(a) [V N- (+A)] and [V LOC (+A)]**

The NP which is [+animate] may be interpreted as direction and the locative form of the same NP may be interpreted as exclusive direction.

(b) [V NP (-A)] and [V LOC (-A)]

The NP which is [-animate] may be interpreted as direction and the locative which is [-animate] can also be interpreted as direction.

(c) Interrogative ni

The roll class verbs with the interrogative **ni** and the NPs which may be [+animate] or [-animate] as well as the locative which may be [+animate] or [-animate] may be interpreted as follows: the NP has a reading of cause and the locative has a reading of exclusive location and direction.

(iii) Run class**(a) [V NP (+A)] and [V LOC (+A)]**

The NP which is [+animate] may have a semantic reading of benefactive and the locative which is also [+animate] may have a semantic reading of direction, location and source.

(b) [V NP (-A)] and [V LOC (-A)]

The [-animate] NP may have a semantic reading of benefactive, purpose and cause. The locative which is also [-animate] may be interpreted as direction, location and source.

(c) Interrogative ni

The interrogative **ni** and the NP which may be [+animate] or [-animate] may have the reading of cause with the NP and a reading of location and direction with the locative.

6.3.2 Causative affix -is-

It was established in this study that the new external argument has a causative effect as it causes the action to happen. With the arrive and run classes the external argument can have a permissive, causative and assistive semantic reading.

- (24) a. Utitshala uhambisa abantwana
'The teacher causes/allows/assists the children to walk/go'
- b. Umongikazi ungenisa umguli
'The nurse causes/allows/assists the patient to enter'

When the new external argument is [-animate] with [+DEC] verbs, the permissive and assistive interpretation cannot be found.

- (25) Umsinga ukhukhulisekisa inqanawa
'The stream pushes the ship away'

In case of [+animate] for the old external argument and [+animate] for the new external argument, the permissive and causative can be found.

- (26) Indoda intlithekisa umfazi
'The man causes/allows the woman to hit hard'

In cases where the old external argument has become a complement in the PP, the **nga-**phrases cannot appear with motion verbs. The resulting sentences will be unacceptable.

- (27) a. *Ndifikisa ngomntwana
'I cause to arrive in the child'
- b. *Ndicothisa ngebhasi
'I cause the bus to travel slowly'
- c. *Ndiqengqelekisa ngomoya
'I cause to roll by wind'

The locative form of the old external argument cannot appear with the causativised motion verbs. Again, the resulting sentences are unacceptable.

- (28) a. *Ndigodusa emntwaneni
'I cause to go home in children'

- b. *Ndityibilikisa enkwenkweni
'I cause to slip on the boy'
- c. *Ndibalekisa ebaleni
'I cause to run on the field'

6.3.3 Reflexive

It was discovered in this study that motion verbs cannot appear with the reflexive affix **-zi-**. It can only appear with motion verbs when some derivational affixes have been used.

- (29)
- a. *Abantwana bayazifika
'Children arrive each other'
 - b. *Abantwana bazihamba
'Children walk each other'

When the applicative affix **-el-** has been affixed to a motion verb, the reflexive **-zi-** can be used but the initial meaning disappears. The new meaning of [-cause] and [+independent] can be found.

- (30)
- a. Uyazifikela ekhaya
'He arrives on his own at home'
 - b. Uyazihambela
'He walks on his own'
 - c. Uyaziqengqelekela
'He rolls on his own'

Motion verbs can appear with the reflexive **-zi-** if they are in a causative form with the semantic interpretation of [+cause] [+independent].

- (31)
- a. Uyazityibilikisa
'He makes himself slip'
 - b. Uyazitsibisa
'He makes himself jump'

The PP with **ngokwa-** that denotes a reflexive emphasizer can accompany the motion verb which has a reflexive **-zi-** morpheme.

- (32) a. Uyazifikela ngokwakhe
‘He arrives by himself’
b. Zizihambisa ngokwazo
‘They cause themselves to walk by themselves’

6.3.4 Reciprocal

From the research done on motion verbs, it can be deduced that there are very few motion verbs from the arrive class which can appear with the reciprocal affix **-an-** and that their semantic interpretation does not have the meaning of reciprocal.

- (33) Abantwana bayezana
‘The children come after each other by birth’

Some motion verbs take the affix **-an-** on condition that it does not have a meaning of mutual relation feature or feature reciprocal, but the meaning of a durative feature.

- (34) a. Banyukana nale santi
‘They keep on going up the sand’
b. Bajikelezana nale ndlu
‘They keep on rotating around the house’
c. Batsibana nale ntambo
‘They keep on jumping over the rope’

Motion verbs can appear with the affix **-an-** when they are in a causative form or in an applicative form and have an associative feature or a durative feature. Motion verbs with an associative feature are found in the following example sentences:

- (35) a. Bayafikisana
‘They come at the same time’
b. Bayaqengqelekisana
‘They cause each other to roll’
c. Bayadedelana
‘They give each other a space to pass’
d. Bayahambelana
‘They visit each other’

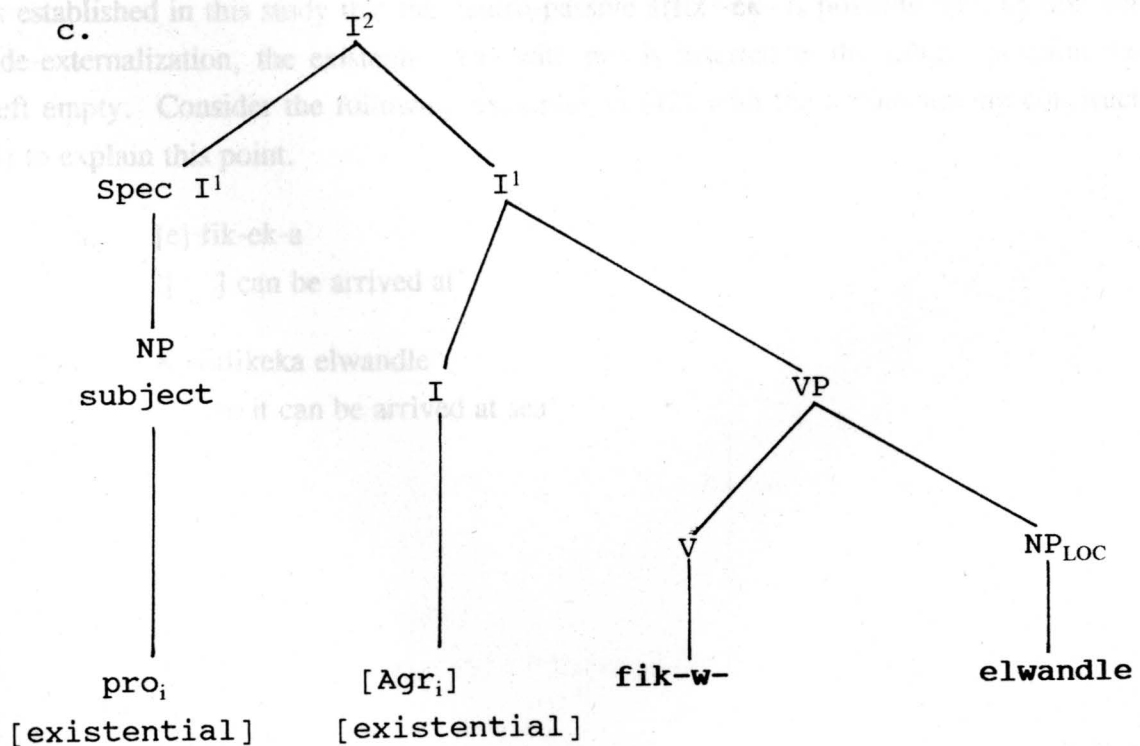
Motion verbs with a durative feature are found in the following example sentences:

- (36) a. Bangenisana nala mathole
'They keep on making these calves to enter'
b. Baqengqelekisana nale bhola
'They keep on causing this ball to roll'
c. Bachwechwelana nezi ntaka
'They keep on creeping to each other'

6.3.5 Passive affix -w-

It was found in this study that the passive affix -w- is possible with motion verbs. After de-externalisation, the existential **ku-** with *pro* is inserted in the subject position which is empty.

- (37) a. [e] fik-w-a elwandle
'[] is arrived at sea'
b. Kuyafikwa elwandle
'There it is arrived at sea'



The locative may be moved to the subject position and can leave a trace where it has been.

- (38) Elwandle kuyafikwa t

The de-externalised subject may appear as a complement of a verb in the form of a copulative.

- (39) Kuyabalekwa zimbaleki
'It is being run by the runners'

Two copulative noun phrases can be found with the passive verbs. The interpretation of these copulatives when they appear with arrive and run classes are agent and cause.

- (40) Kuyagodukwa ngabantu yindlala
'There it is being gone home by people because of hunger'

With the roll class the reading may be theme and cause.

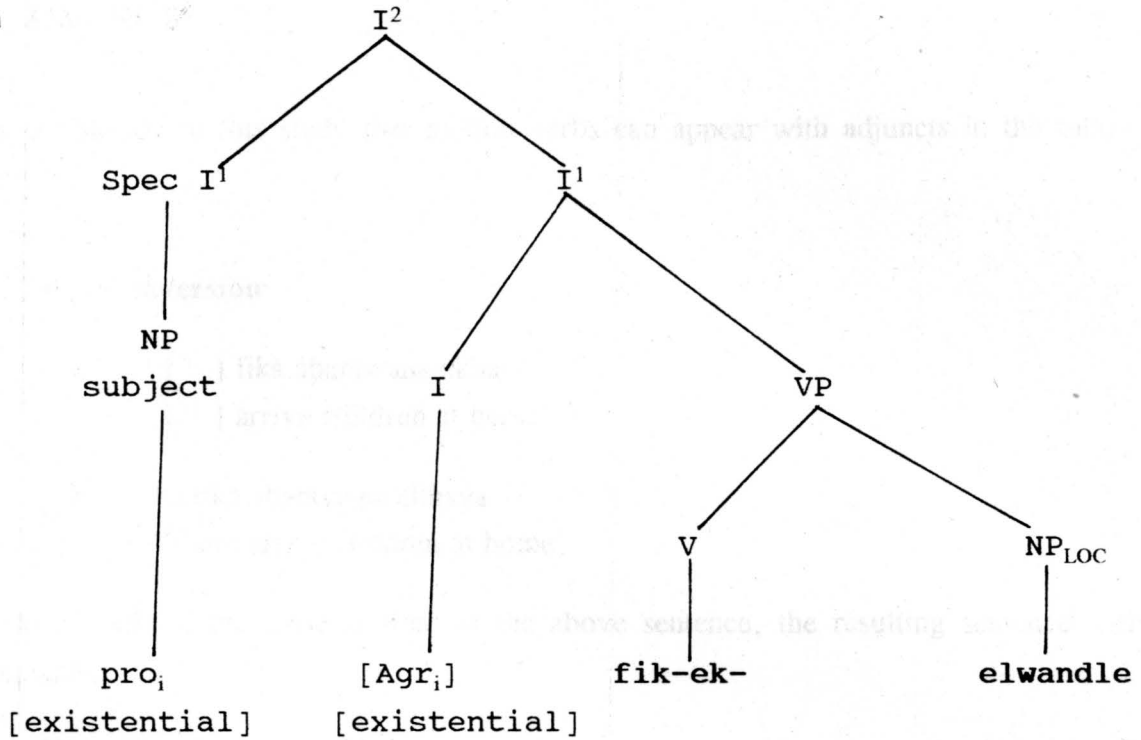
- (41) Kuyaphephethekwa ngamaphepha ngumoya
'There it is being blown away by papers because of wind.'

6.3.6 Neutro-passive affix -ek-

It was established in this study that the neutro-passive affix **-ek-** is possible with motion verbs. after de-externalization, the existential **ku-** with pro is inserted in the subject position which was left empty. Consider the following examples in (42) with the accompanying construction in (43) to explain this point.

- (42) a. [e] fik-ek-a
'[] can be arrived at'
- b. Kuyafikeka elwandle
'There it can be arrived at sea'

(43)



The locative can be moved to the empty subject position and can leave a trace where it has been.

- (44) Elwandle kuyafikeka t
 'In the sea there it can be arrived'

The de-externalised subject can appear in a copular form as a complement of a verb and can have a reading of agent with arrive and run verbs and theme with [+DEC] verbs.

- (45) a. Kuyabalekeka ziimbaleki
 'There it can be run by runners'
 b. Kuyaqengqekeka ngamatye
 'There it can be rolled by stones'

Two copular noun phrases can be found with motion verbs and the interpretation with arrive and run class verbs is agent and cause.

- (46) Kuyabuyeka ngabantu yindlala
 'There it can be returned by people because of hunger'

With the roll class the reading may be theme and cause.

- (47) Kuyatyibilikeka ngabantwana ludaka
 'There it can be slipped by children because of mud'

6.4 ADJUNCTS

It was established in this study that motion verbs can appear with adjuncts in the following manner.

6.4.1 Subject inversion

- (48) a. [] fika abantwana ekhaya
 '[] arrive children at home'
- b. Kufika abantwana ekhaya
 'There arrive children at home'

If the long form of the tense is used in the above sentence, the resulting sentence will be unacceptable.

- (49) *Kuyafika abantwana ekhaya
 'There it is arriving children at home'

The subject inversion usually brings focus to the sentence and the definite emphasis is on the position occupied by the subject, a position which is postverbal.

- (50) Kubaleka amakhwenkwe, hayi amantombazana
 'There run boys, not girls'

6.4.2 Motion verbs with NPs

Although motion verbs are intransitive, they can still appear with an internal argument which is an object NP. In very rare instances, these verbs can appear with cognate objects.

- (51) a. Ujikela umjikelo
 'He rotates a rotation'
- b. Uhamba uhambo
 'He walks a walk'
- c. Utsiba umtsi
 'He jumps a jump'

Motion verbs may also appear with an object as in the following example sentences.

- (52) a. Ungena isikolo
'He goes to school'
- b. Wawa isiqaqqa
'He fainted'
- c. Wabaleka ugqatso
'He ran a race'

6.4.3 Nga- phrases

It has been established that **nga-** is a preposition which may have the following types of nouns as a complement:

Concrete Noun

Abstract Noun

Human Noun

Animal Noun

Human parts Noun

The following semantic interpretations can be found with the different classes of motion verbs.

(i) Arrive class

The **nga-** phrase with a complement which is a concrete noun may have a reading of instrument, theme and cause.

Nga + abstract noun may give a reading of instrument, theme, cause and manner.

Nga + human noun may give a reading of instrument, theme and cause.

Nga + animal noun has a reading of instrument, theme and cause.

Nga + body parts nouns has an interpretation of instrument, theme and cause.

(ii) Roll class

It has been established that the following readings can be found with the roll class.

Nga + concrete noun gives a reading of instrument and cause.

Nga + human noun gives a reading of instrument and cause.

Nga + animal noun gives a reading of instrument and cause.

Nga + body parts nouns give a reading of instrument and cause.

Nga + abstract noun gives a reading of instrument, manner and cause.

(iii) Run class

With this group of verbs the nga- phrases may have the following readings.

Nga + concrete noun may have the reading of instrument, theme and cause.

Nga + human noun may have the reading of instrument, theme and cause.

Nga + animal noun gives a reading of instrument, theme and cause.

Nga + body parts noun gives a reading of instrument, theme and cause.

Nga + abstract noun gives a reading of instrument, theme, cause and manner.

6.4.4 Infinitive and ukuba- clauses

Intransitive verbs do not allow an infinitive as a complement. When an intransitive verb is a motion verb it may take an infinitive as a complement on condition that the verb with the infinitive is also a motion verb.

(53) Wanduluka ukusinga kowabo

'He left to go to his place'

If the infinitive is not a motion verb, the sentence is unacceptable.

(54) *Ubuya ukulala ebhedini

'He returns to sleep on the bed'

If the matrix verb is suffixed with the applicative affix -el- the sentence can be acceptable.

(55) Ubuyela ukulala ebhedini

'He returns to sleep on the bed'

The reading of the infinitive in both (55) and (53) is purposive reading.

Ukuba clauses are found as an adjunct of the verb.

(56) Ndihamba ukuba ndiye kusebenza

'I go that I go to work'

In sentence (56) the matrix verb is a motion verb and the verb in the **ukuba** clause is also a motion verb. If the verb in the **ukuba** clause is not a motion verb, the sentence is unacceptable.

- The affixation of the applicative affix -el- to the matrix verb can make the sentence to be acceptable.

- (58) Bandulukela ukuba bakhe indlu
'They leave to go and build a hut'

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